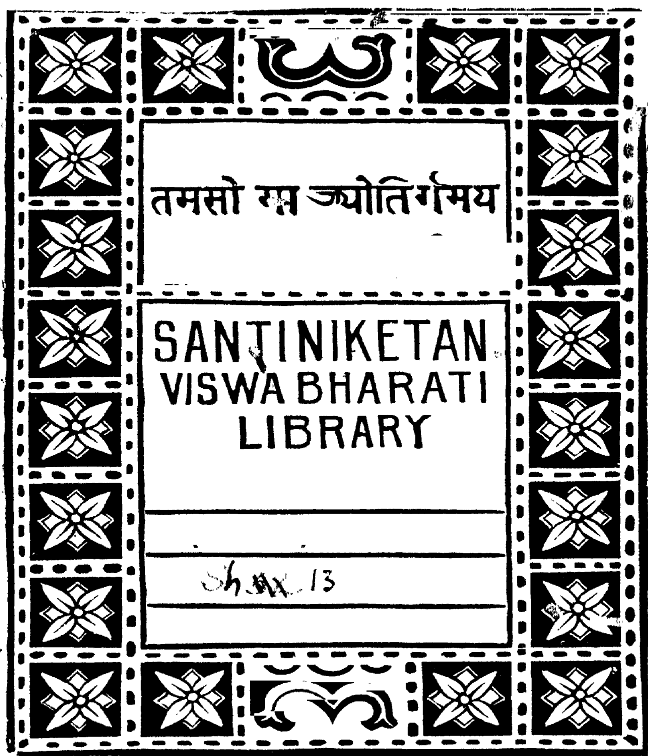
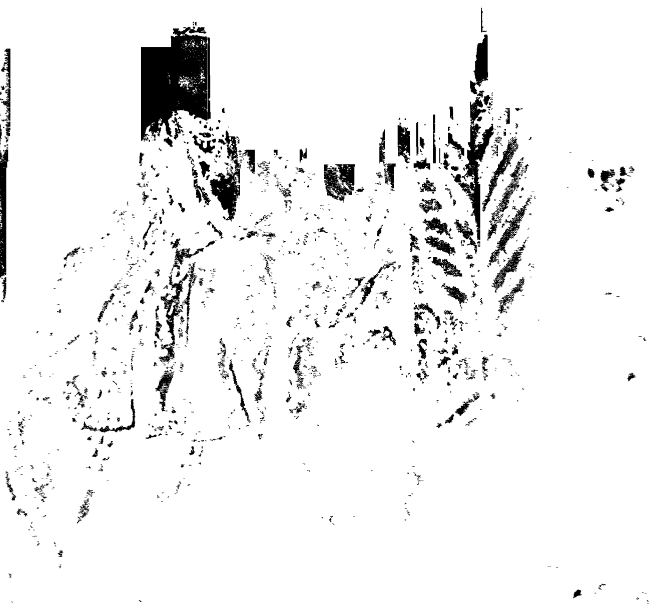


Nawab Sultan Jahan Begum. Nawab Shah Jahan Begum.

HAYAT-I-SHAHJEHANI

LIFE OF HER HIGHNESS THE LATE NAWAB SHAHJEHAN BEGUM OF BHOPAL, C.I., G.C.S.I.

BY

HER HIGHNESS NAWAB SULTAN JEHAN BEGUM, C.I., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., RULER OF BHOPAL

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PREFACE.

IT is not only my duty to write an account of the life of her late Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, G.C.S.I., C.I., but I consider it as an auspicious work, the due performance of which I owe to the memory of the late Begum, my revered mother. I take the writing of such a book as good for her as prayers offered for the weal of her soul.

Her late Highness was well-known, all over India, as a most magnanimous lady; but what is not so well-known is that she was also an adept in the art of administration. A biography to keep alive the memory of such a Ruler was highly desirable. I could have entrusted this task to some abler hand, but then I would have deprived myself of the privilege of paying my last tribute to her dearly beloved memory; and so I devoted the leisure at my command to the preparation of this account of her life.

I have purposely avoided to mention herein those painful and unhappy incidents responsible for the estrangement which existed

between my dear mother and myself. It is best that they should be consigned to oblivion and be remembered no more. All that happened was so fated to be. In spite of those unhappy events, and the coolness that existed between us, I think that her motherly feelings for me had in no way diminished; neither had my sense of filial love and respect for her, and my complete submission to her will, ever changed in the least; for I had learnt that my ' Paradise lay under her feet;" my hopes of ever attaining salvation being entirely dependent on her goodwill towards me.*

I am confident that my readers will derive some pleasure from reading this book, now that a biography of such a truly great lady is available. It is also my earnest wish that they will not forget to include the subject, as also the authoress of this biography, in their daily prayers.

SULTAN JEHAN BEGUM
of Bhopal.

* A reference to the sacred tradition " that Paradise lies under the feet of mothers."



H. H. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam.

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LIFE OF HER LATE HIGHNESS NAWAB SHAHJEHAN BEGUM, C.I., G.C.S.I. OF BHOPAL.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, C.I., G.C.S.I., was born in the fort of Islamnagar, on 6th Jamadi-al-Awwal, 1252 A.H. (corresponding to 30th July 1838). Just two or three months before her birth, there had been an estrangement between her father, Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan Bahadur, and her mother, Nawab Secunder Begum. The latter had, for this reason, transferred her residence from Bhopal to Islamnagar. On the birth of the princess, the Nawab-sahib was informed that a male-child was born. Much pleased at this news, he was impatient to see the baby. Later on, when he received official information of the birth of a daughter, he refused to believe it, **Birth.**

and accepted the fact only when the princess was actually brought to him. The sight of the child moved the fond feelings of her father, and he covered her pretty little face with kisses. Her grandmother, Munawwar Zaman Begum, sister of Nawab Asad Ali Khan, of Basoda, was also present on this occasion, and she sent her back, loaded with presents. The child reached Islamnagar safely about sunset.

Education and Training.

Nawab Secunder Begum nursed her daughter herself, and brought her up under her own guidance. Although the present-day system of child-training was not in vogue at that time, yet the princess received all the benefits that can be expected from the tutelage of an educated mother, whom nature had richly endowed with extraordinary intelligence, firmness and administrative talents. As the princess grew up, the Begum began to familiarise her with the domestic duties of a well regulated Indian home. The services of Moulvi Haseeb Ahmad, Haji Abdul Karim Ansari and Moulvi Hyder Ali Khan (author of the "Muntahi-ul-Kalam"), a man famous for

his piety and learning, were engaged for purposes of her general and religious education. Munshi Raza Hussain, Assistant Muatamid-ul-Muham, and Deewan Thakur Pershad, First Revenue Assistant to the Muatamid-ul-Muham, were ordered to instruct her in the elements of finance and revenue. Lessons were also given to her in riding and musketry; and in these, her ancestral accomplishments, she attained to great proficiency. In short, by virtue of her natural intelligence and constant application to her studies, the princess got through all the stages of her early education at a surprisingly rapid pace.

Loss of Parents.

The princess had not yet reached her eighth year when her father's life began to be despaired of, owing to some complaint in his bowels. His illness was kept secret for a considerable time, but when his condition grew worse, and rumours of his illness began to spread, his daughter and her mother hastened to see him, whom they found in a very critical condition. The Nawab Saheb feelingly said to his wife:—"My condition has now become hopeless. The medical

treatment I have hitherto received has not been of the best. If you had been near me, I would have been, at least, well looked after."

The Begum urged her husband to go with her to Islamnagar, where, she said, she would make all possible arrangements for his comfort; and obtain the best medical assistance for him. The Nawab Saheb consented to this proposal, but his maternal uncle raised some objections, so the project was given up. Pathetic indeed was the sight when the time came for mother and daughter to return to Islamnagar. They wept very much and the Nawab felt wretched at the sight of their grief. But the callousness of selfish and intriguing persons knew no bounds. The masters found themselves helpless in the hands of their own servants and dependents. All efforts to bring back the Nawab-consort with them to Islamnagar having proved unsuccessful, Nawab Secunder Begum and Princess Shahjehan Begum decided to come away without him. They left Bhopal, but overcome with grief they could not proceed further than "Maji-ki-Bauri," half-way between

Bhopal and Islamnagar; where they took up their temporary residence. A week after, Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan died; and news was brought to Secunder Begum, at the Bauri, that the Naib-ur-Riyasat, Asad Ali Khan, uncle of the late Nawab, had installed Dastgeer Mohammad Khan,* son of the late Nawab-consort, by a fallen woman, as Ruler, and that official salute of guns had also been fired, proclaiming his accession!

Accession to the Throne.

The Begum was much agitated at the unexpected turn events had taken by the sudden demise of her husband, and she at once despatched a letter to the Agency, giving full details of the late Nawab-consort's misalliance. In the same letter the Begum Secunder put forth her daughter's claims to be the Ruler of Bhopal, supporting her contention by the provisions of Articles of Treaty made between the Honourable the East India Company and Nawab Nazar Mohammad Khan, on the question of regulation of succession in the State.

The Political Agent at once proceeded from Sehore to Bhopal; declared Dastgeer

* See Appendix No. 1.

Mohammad Khan's accession to have been illegal; and reported the whole case to His Excellency the Governor-General. Meantime, he ordered Asad Ali Khan to carry on the administration of the State, pending the receipt of final orders from the Government of India.

After some time, Nawab Secunder Begum received a "Kharita," dated 28th December, 1844, from His Excellency Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General, in which, after messages of sympathy and condolence, His Excellency was pleased to say that Nawab Shahjehan Begum had been recognised by the Supreme Government as Ruler, and her succession was sanctioned exactly on the same principles as her mother's claims had been previously recognised, that is, by the unanimous consent of the nobles, the sardars of the State, and by the approval of the British Government.

The Kharita further mentioned that when Shahjehan Begum got married, her husband was to become the Ruler, and while she was not of age, and did not enter into wedlock, important affairs of the State

should be conducted under the advice of the Political Agent. It was further decided that Faujdar Mohammad Khan, younger son of Nawab Ghaus Mohammad Khan, in whose abilities and intelligence His Excellency reposed the fullest confidence, be temporarily entrusted with the administration of the State, and that in all important State affairs the Political Agent should consult the opinions of Secunder Begum. The guardianship of the minor Ruler was entirely left to her mother. A month and a half after the receipt of this letter the Political Agent, on instructions received from the Governor-General, formally installed Nawab Shahjehan Begum on the "gadi" of Bhopal, and appointed Mian Faujdar Mohammad Khan, Regent of the State.

The events that happened after the institution of the Regency, and the manner in which Nawab Secunder Begum took over the reins of the Government of Bhopal in her own hands, by the just decision of the British Government, aided by her own ability, and unimpeachable personal claims, are fully dealt with in the "Tajul-Iqbal" and the "Hayat-e-

Sikandri." They have been eliminated from this book as having no relevant connection with the events of Nawab Shahjehan Begum's life. Suffice it to say that during the Regency of Mian Faujdar Mohammad Khan, the legitimate Ruler of Bhopal State was put to the greatest possible trouble; and it was the continuous effort of Nawab Secunder Begum, extending over a period of full two years, which forced the Naib-riyasat to put in his resignation. Thereafter, Nawab Secunder Begum was appointed Regent; on which occasion the British Government presented her with robes of honour for having now assumed administrative charge of the State.

Marriage and other Ceremonies.

On the last day of Moharram 1261 A.H., following the death of Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan, Nawab Secunder Begum left Islamnagar for good. She returned to Bhopal accompanied by her pious mother (Nawab Gauhar Begum), and with Nawab Shahjehan Begum, and took up her permanent residence in the city.

The question of the Regency having been settled in her favour, Nawab Secunder



Nawab Sikandar Begam.

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Begum now turned her attention to domestic affairs; and the first of these was the celebration of my mother's "Nashra" ceremony (on her having finished the Qur'an), under every circumstance of splendour and magnificence. As a matter of fact she had finished reading the Qur'an much earlier, and her training in the course of economics, and her general education, had already reached a high level of proficiency; but in consequence of the earlier difficulties Nawab Secunder Begum had to face, and the constant intrigues set on foot against her, she had been precluded, so far, from giving vent to her lively feelings of pleasure and happiness at the intellectual progress her daughter had meanwhile made. Now that the incubus had been removed, the great Begum regained her freedom of action and found occasion to give practical demonstrations of her feelings of love and affection for her daughter.

She conferred an annual jagir of Rs. 57,686 a year upon Nawab Shahjehan Begum for her personal expenses, and when she attained majority, the question of her

marriage came to the front. At first, Nawab Secunder Begum had in her mind certain young nobles of her own family, one of whom, she thought, might turn out fit to be her son-in-law. She even went to the extent of making special arrangements for their education, in order that in her choice she may be guided by the consideration of the merits of each case. But as none of these lads came up to her expectations, on mature thoughts, she had to write for permission to the Governor-General to make necessary inquiries in other families, outside her own, within and without the State. Accounts of many young men, their genealogical trees, family history, their photographs and reports of their mental and moral character, were submitted to Her Highness by the trusted servants she had sent out for the purpose. At last a selection of six most eligible persons was made, and their qualifications communicated to the Political Agent, who was informed that there was no young man in the Ruling family here who combined all the qualities requisite for an aspirant to the hand of Nawab Shah-

jehan Begum. Nawab Secunder Begum further suggested that as marriage in an outside family was likely to be followed by consequences which could not be foreseen, it would be wise to vest the supreme authority in Nawab Shahjehan Begum, and that her husband should be allowed to enjoy the title of Nawab-consort, without any real power in the State; and that, in future, the succession should devolve upon the issue of this alliance. The Political Agent replied that the terms of Her Highness's letter were perfectly consistent with English custom. Her Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, was Sovereign, while her Prince-consort had no voice in her Government, and that the Begum's proposals would be forwarded through the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India to the Paramount Power, for final orders. An answer was received from the Political Agent, after a few days, informing Nawab Secunder Begum that His Excellency the Governor-General was pleased to leave the selection of a suitable husband for Nawab Shahjehan Begum in Nawab Secunder Begum's hands; and

that her son-in-law should be a titular Nawab, while real power should devolve on Nawab Shahjehan Begum on her attaining the age of majority, according to the general custom. Furthermore, the letter complimented Her Highness's vigorous management of affairs, especially the clearance of the heavy burden of debt. His Excellency was of opinion that her rule afforded such a striking example of good administration that it should be continued to remain in her hands, in the interests of Nawab Shahjehan Begum, until the proper time should arrive for entrusting the latter with the direction of affairs. To this Kharita, Her Highness Nawab Secunder Begum replied that she had already, on the first Safar 1271 A.H. (24th October 1554) communicated to the Political Agent her selection of the name of Bakhshi Baqi Mohammad Khan, Nusrat Jung,* the Commander-in-Chief of the State Forces, as the proposed bridegroom of her daughter. In the same Kharita she had also suggested that the Regency of the State should be kept in her

* See Appendix No. I.

own hands *during her lifetime.* Again, in a second despatch, addressed to the Agent to the Governor-General, she emphasized upon the choice of Bakhshi Baqi Mohammad Khan as her future son-in-law. The Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General wrote to say that he was instructed by the Governor-General to inform Nawab Secunder Begum that her Regency was to continue until Nawab Shahjehan Begum attained the age of twenty-one; but at the same time he mentioned that if, on the attainment of majority, her daughter would ask to be vested with full powers, it would be hard to waive her claims to accession. To this Her Highness Nawab Secunder Begum replied to say that no one had a better title to the throne of Bhopal than herself; that her endeavours in the interest of public administration had elicited the applause of the British Government, and that she should therefore be recognised as Regent for life.

This matter could not be decided forthwith; but the Political Agent came to Bhopal and brought the Governor-General's Kharita, approving of Nawab Shahjehan Begum's

marriage with Bakhshi Baqi Mohammad Khan Bahadur, Nusrat Jung†. After the receipt of this letter, on the 28th of Shawwal, 1271 A.H., the ceremony of "tasting the salt" was performed on the second Zeeqa'ad. A proclamation of the Political Agent was forthwith published, announcing the accession of Nawab Shahjehan Begum to the throne of Bhopal, the appointment of her mother as Regent, and that Nawab Shahjehan Begum's future husband was simply to be Nawab-consort.

The betrothal took place on the 4th Zeeqa'ad and with the sanction of the British Government, Bakhshi Baqi Mohammad Khan was created "Nawab Nazeer-ud-Dowlah Umrao-Doolah." On the 5th of the same month, the Agent to the Governor-General invested the Nawab with a *Khilat* (Robe of Honour) on behalf of the Right Honourable the Governor-General. A salute of 21 guns was fired in honour of the occasion. The British Government conferred a salute of 17 guns on the Nawab-consort. The "Nikah" prayer was read on the 11th Ziqad by Moulvi

† See Appendix No. II.



Nawab Umrao Dula.

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Abdul Qayyum, a great and saintly scholar; nuptial ceremonies were befittingly celebrated in both the families under every circumstance of pomp and splendour. With the approval of the Political Agent, Her Highness Nawab Secunder Begum conferred a jagir of Rs. 65,357 on her son-in-law, the Nawab-consort, in 1272 A.H.

Children.

I was born three years after my mother's marriage, on Friday, the 27th Zeeqa'ad, 1274 A.H. (9th July 1885); and my sister princess Sulaiman Jehan on the 12th Jamadi-Ul-Auwal, 1277 A.H. My sister lived for only about five years and died of small-pox, although she had been vaccinated. Hakim John Sahib made a wrong diagnosis of the case. He mistook small-pox for some type of blood poisoning, and gave her an aperient, with fatal effects. The end of her life had evidently drawn nigh. On the 13th Moharram 1282 A.H. she entered into the mercy of the Merciful.

My mother resigns rulership in favour of my Grand-mother.

History records few instances of Rulers abdicating their temporal power in favour of some dear relative, either out of regard for his or her wishes, or out of an exalted sense

of duty, or love and respect, for that person. As long as Bhopal endures Nawab Shahjehan Begum's golden deed of self effacement—her generous and filial devotion towards her mother—will be remembered with admiration and respect, by generations to come, as the most brilliant incident in the annals of the State. Here is the short history of the golden deed. On the death of Nawab Nazar Mohammad Khan, Nawab Secunder Begum, who was then just a year and-a-half old, was acknowledged sole heir of the throne, on the basis of the Treaty drawn up between the late Nawab and the Honourable the East India Company. She was consequently installed as Ruler and her mother, Nawab Gauhar (Qudsia Begum), was appointed Regent, on condition that when the young Ruler married, her husband would become the head of the State. Thus, when Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan married Secunder Begum, he was declared Ruler of the State. This event has been noted in detail in "Taj-Ul-Iqbal," as well as in other histories of Bhopal. Secunder Begum never liked this peculiar and heavy condition imposed upon her

by the Supreme Government. It was really hard for her to reconcile herself to the fact that she was to be deprived of her inherent right to rule, simply for being a woman. She felt surprised to see her right of sovereignty transferred to another man, merely on account of her sex. But expediency, and the special circumstances of the moment, forced her to accept this hard decision, and to keep silent.

On the death of Nawab. Jehangir Mohammad Khan, Nawab Shahjehan Begum ascended the throne; and shortly after, her mother was appointed Regent. Nawab Secunder Begum now found an opportunity for the full exercise of her administrative talents. The economic and other reforms which she so successfully carried out; the firmness and consistency with which she continued the old relations of friendship with the Supreme Government, clearly prove that amongst the weaker sex also God Almighty had created one possessing all the qualifications necessary for a good ruler and administrator; and had thus given a definite and signal proof of His perfection. The annals of the State

record many instances of the administrative capacity of former Begums of Bhopal, but none so forceful and vigorous as those of the Begum Secunder. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing that she should have made efforts to regain her lost right and to win for herself the accession to the throne, as the *de facto* Ruler of Bhopal. She laid her case before the Government of India with great cogency and wealth of argument. The greatest obstacle in the fulfilment of her ambition was the fact that Nawab Shahjehan Begum was no more a minor, and had already been formally declared to be the Ruler. Moreover, the great Begum had also entrusted her daughter with some of the duties of the State, which she had been performing with an ability and tact that had elicited her mother's admiration and approval. Her daughter's loyalty and devotion to the British Crown were also unquestionable. It was now a serious problem, beset on either side with peculiar difficulties. On the one hand it was impossible for a just Government to deprive the daughter of the throne; and on the other it was equally difficult to disregard the strong

arguments and undoubted claims of her mother. As a last resource, the British Government left the final decision of the case in the hands of the daughter herself. The Political Agent put the whole case before Nawab Shahjehan Begum and requested her to give her opinion, and find a way out of the difficulty. Her solution of the question was a splendid instance of filial devotion, dutiful affection and large heartedness. She at once recognised the claims of her mother, and without the slightest hesitation expressed her entire willingness to see Nawab Secunder Begum installed on the throne. The Supreme Government and the Political officials were highly pleased at this amicable settlement. The Agency Kharita addressed to her said that her tact and generosity had settled a most knotty political problem.

Later, His Excellency the Viceroy sent his official sanction to the settlement of this matter. It was received in Bhopal on the 6th Jamadi-U-Sani 1276 A.H. (the 31st December 1859), acknowledging Nawab Secunder Begum as Ruler of Bhopal.

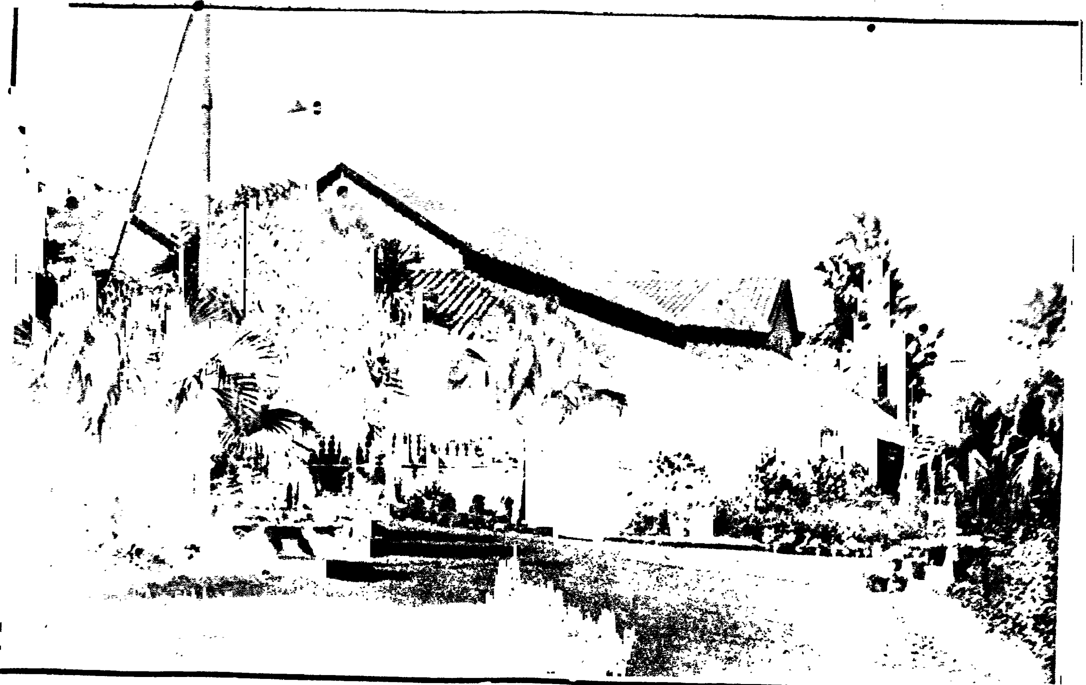
Four months after this, the Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, came to Bhopal and formally installed Nawab Secunder Begum as Ruler, and declared Nawab Shahjehan Begum as Heir-Apparent.

Widowhood of my mother.

Nawab Nazir Dowla went to Mecca, to perform the Hajj, in 1283. Previous to this, he had been ailing for a considerable time. His condition grew worse there. He then went to Egypt and placed himself under the treatment of some eminent Physicians, but as there was no change for the better, he returned to Bhopal. The hakims and the doctors treated him here also, but there was no improvement whatsoever in his condition; and, at last, he died on the 21st Safar 1284 A.H. Thus only twelve years after her marriage, my mother was destined to suffer the terrible calamity of widowhood.

Accession to the "Gadi."

After ruling over Bhopal for nine years, Her Highness Nawab Secunder Begum breathed her last, on the 13th Rajab 1285 A.H. All the offices of the State were closed for three days, in mourning for her. Nawab Shahjehan Begum now resumed the control of her duties, as Ruler, from the



The Lal Koth..

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17th Rajab 1285 A.H.

Sir John Meade, the Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, and Colonel John William Welby Osborne, C.B., the Political Agent, came to Bhopal with the authoritative "firman," and robes of honour, for the new Ruler on 1st Sha'ban (16th November 1868). A Durbar was held in the Moti Mahal Palace, the roads were lined with soldiers on both sides, Hafiz Mohammad Hasan Khan, Nusrat Jung, Commander of the State Forces, and few other high officials of the State, went to the Kothi at Jehangirabad to meet the British high officials. Myself, as Heir-Apparent, also the Madar-Ul-Maham, went as far as the bridge, lying between the city and Jehangirabad, to receive these high representatives of the Crown. The Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General, and other officials of the Political Department, started in procession, from the Kothi, on elephants. The robes of Rulership were carried in the van, and immediately behind it, were the led horses, intended as presents for the new Ruler. As the procession reached the "Budhwara" gate, a salute

was fired from the rampart of fort Fatehgarh in honour of the royal Kharita; and when the procession reached the gates of Moti Mahal, it was welcomed in person by all the officials of the State. Inside the Palace, in the Durbar Hall, Her Highness walked up to the edge of the carpet, to receive the Agent to the Governor-General. Another salute was fired as the Agent to the Governor-General took his seat.

The Durbar officials first brought in the robes of honour, on several trays, and placed them before the high Representative of the Paramount Power. The Agent to the Governor-General then stood up and leading Her Highness by the hand, seated her on the throne, which was placed on a raised dais, and presented her with a pearl necklace. Immediately the guns began to boom the happy news of Her Highness's accession to the expectant public of Bhopal. The Meer Munshi of the Residency then placed the robes of honour on the edge of the throne; and Her Highness descended from the "masnad," presented the royal "nazars" to the Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General,

representing the British Government, and took her seat. Thereafter I was conducted to the chair of the Agent to the Governor-General, who presented me also with a pearl necklace. At the close of these ceremonies the Mir Munshi read out a "firman" from the Government of India*.

When the proclamation was read out the Mir Bakhshi and his deputy presented Nazars. Thereafter Nawab Shahjehan Begum got up and delivered a speech. †

I was then ten years of age, and was under my mother's personal care and supervision. She was very fond of me, and regarded me as her dearest possession. Who could possibly have paid greater attention to, and looked after, my future than my mother? She asked me to express my thanks, in open Durbar, for having been declared and acknowledged Heir-Apparent of Bhopal. The Representatives of the British Government, who were present at the Durbar, happened to be old and intimate friends of our family. Her late Highness Nawab Secunder Begum's

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* See Appendix No. 3.

† See Appendix No. 4.

friendship had left a deep impression on their hearts, and they were true well-wishers of the name and fame of the Rulers of Bhopal. They were genuinely pleased at the progress and prosperity the State had already made. All present were delighted to see me stand up to deliver my speech. Sir John Meade turned to me, with a most affectionate smile, to listen to what I was going to say. In giving expression to my sentiments of gratitude I said :—

> "Thanks be to God Who, of His exceeding great kindness, has elevated me to this high position, and I thank His Excellency the Governor-General, and the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and the Political Agent in Bhopal, who have declared my mother as Ruler of Bhopal, and me, her Heir-Apparent. I trust that the All-merciful God will keep me loyal to the British Government, as long as I live."

The Durbar came to a close with my little speech. All the ceremonies observed at the time of arrival were repeated at the time of

departure. Next day Her Highness returned, in full state, the visit of the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. Soldiers lined both sides of the road, from the palace to the Lal Kothi. The artillery was parked on the Parade ground. Her Highness drove in a carriage drawn by four horses. The High Officers of the State were in attendance. A salute was fired as Her Highness arrived in the Durbar. The Agent to the Governor-General went up to the carriage, and led Her Highness to the seat reserved for her. Formal and polite conversation was conducted for a few minutes. From here, Her Highness went over to another tent and distributed "atar and pan" to the honoured guests.

Queen Victoria's letter of Condolence.

The Government of India had already been transferred from the Honourable East India Company to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress of India. This step brought the Princes and Chiefs of India in direct contact with their August Sovereign, and a centre had now been found round which they could concentrate their feelings of loyalty and devotion, namely, the person of Her

Gracious Majesty, The Queen-Empress. The Queen was most kind, gracious and tactful in her dealings with the Rulers of Indian States.

Her Majesty sent a letter of condolence to Nawab Shahjehan Begum, through the Duke of Argyll, the then Secretary of State for India. This letter, besides making the most sympathetic reference to the sad death of Nawab Secunder Begum, expressed great confidence in the new Ruler's personal abilities, and entertained high hopes of her regime.*

On receipt of the Royal message, Her Highness sent a communication through the Viceroy of India, to the Queen-Empress expressing her gratitude for the royal letter;† and reiterated her sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the Queen-Empress in a separate letter, addressed to the Secretary of State for India. ‡ In reply to these letters the Secretary of State for India wrote that Her Highness's communications had been placed before Her Majesty, and that the

* See Appendix No. V.

† See Appendix No. VI. ‡ See Appendix No. VII.

Queen had been most graciously pleased to receive them. His Grace also expressed his own pleasure at the receipt of the letter sent to him by Her Highness.*

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* See Appendix No. VIII

CHAPTER II.

SECOND MARRIAGE.

At the age of twenty-nine, a year before her accession, Nawab Shahjehan Begum became a widow; thereafter, for nearly three years, she conducted the affairs of the State single-handed, and carried out useful reforms, all by herself. During this period she made extensive tours of the outlying districts of her domains. She had also found time to pay a visit to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, at Calcutta. It was during this visit that Colonel Thompson, the Political Agent and Colonel Richard Meade, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, advised Her Highness to remarry, so that the Nawab-consort might assist her in the task of governing the State.

According to Islamic law remarriage by a widow is considered a good and meritorious act; and because Her Highness really needed help in the administration of the State, she began, on her return from Calcutta,

to devote serious thought to the problem of contracting a second marriage. Finally, she decided in favour of getting remarried, and applied for permission to the Governor-General. The Foreign Secretary, writing on behalf of the Viceroy, said that the Government of India would not object to the alliance, so long as the consort selected by Her Highness was a cultured gentleman; and that it would be more advisable to make the selection in consultation with Her Highness's chief advisers. The late Moulvi Jamaluddin Khan was Madar-Ul-Muham at that time. His loyalty and fidelity to Her Highness were beyond question. In agreement to the wishes of the British officials, as also of her own family, and by the advice of the Madar-Ul-Muham, Her Highness chose Moulvi Syed Siddiq Hasan, as her second partner in life.*

The marriage ceremony was performed on the 17th Safar 1288 A.H. (8th May 1871), and the fact was duly notified to the Agency. In view of the high position to which the alliance had raised Moulvi Siddiq Hasan,

* See Appendix No. IX.

Her Highness promoted him from being "Mir Dabir" to become Assistant Minister, with the title of "Muatamid-ul Muham." He was also granted a jagir, and a robe of honour was conferred on him in full durbar, in which he delivered a speech. After giving expression to the deep gratitude he felt at the great honour done to him by Her Highness, and the many kindnesses showered upon him, he concluded his speech by saying: "It is now my duty to always show my gratitude, to the best of my ability, to Her Highness for her kindness to me and for the honours bestowed upon me, by devoting the remainder of my life in the sincere service of Her Highness, and her daughter, bringing them greater glory, and also fame to the State." He had not been Muatamid-ul Muham for long, when Her Highness thought that the post he held was below the dignity of her husband, and so she wrote to the Government requesting them to grant him the same honours and dignities as had been granted to her former husband, and that the title of "Nawab Walajah Amir-Ul-Mulk" be conferred upon him. The Govern-

ment generously agreed to this proposal and the Political Agent came to Bhopal to offer his congratulations to Her Highness; and in a Durbar, held on the 10th Shaban 1289 A.H., he presented her a Kharita conferring the title of "Nawab" on her husband, and invested him with a Khila'at (robe of honour). The Mir Munshi of the Agency read out the contents of the letter to the people assembled in the Durbar.*

When the reading of the Kharita was over, the robe of honour was conferred on the Nawab, who got up and presented "Nazar" to the Political Agent, representing His Excellency the Viceroy; and in turn, the members of the ruling family, Jagirdars and officials presented nazars to the Nawab. The Political Agent then took the Nawab to the Qudsia Begum, and made him present a nazar to her, she being a senior and elder member of the family. Her Highness gave away large amounts of money in charity, in honour of the dignities conferred on her husband. In accordance with an old custom, all State servants had also to present nazars to the Nawab Saheb.

* See Appendix No. X.

An annual jagir of Rs. 75,472-10-3 was conferred on the Nawab from the beginning of the month of Sha'ban. Her Highness never flagged in her zeal to further the dignity of her consort and was generally successful in her efforts. As a rule, the Nawab always accompanied Her Highness in big Durbars, had opportunities of coming in contact with high European officials, and was invariably received with honour and respect, as the husband of the Ruler of Bhopal. He was presented with the Durbar Medal in the Imperial Durbar at Delhi; and Her Majesty the Queen-Empress issued commands that throughout the British Empire the Nawab was to receive a salute of 17 guns. Lord Lytton himself informed Her Highness of this honour, when she received the decoration of the Crown of India, at His Excellency's hands. When Her Highness returned after her visit to the Viceroy, the English battery fired a salute for her, as well as for the Nawab Saheb.

Soon after his marriage the Nawab began to interfere a good deal in the affairs of the State and Her Highness did not resent

this interference. She naturally took it for solicitude on the part of her husband to share the heavy burden that lay on her shoulders. In this way the old rule of the State, that the husband of the Ruler should be kept out of interference in State affairs, so thoughtfully and with extreme foresight, established by Nawab Secunder Begum, was completely set aside.

SECOND WIDOWHOOD.

Nawab Siddiq Hasan died of dropsy on the 20th February 1890, the last day of the month of Rajab 1307 A.H., and Her Highness was doomed to suffer the pangs of widowhood for a second time in her life. She never married again.

CHAPTER III.

Administrative Reforms.

The work of administration was not new to Her Highness, nor did she experience any very great difficulty in performing it. She was accustomed to hard work from her early days. She possessed the fullest information regarding her State ; and knew all that was worth knowing about the work before her, because she had received the most careful training and instruction under the fostering care of her wide-awake and experienced mother. That is the reason why no sooner she had assumed control of affairs than she was able to bring her great qualities of mind to bear upon the heavy task that lay before her. She began her reign by doing first things first.

Council of State, Treasury and Tosha Khana.

A Council of State had existed from olden times. Her Highness strengthened its position and widened its sphere of activity. She also used to preside over its deliberations. The Council not only discussed important affairs of State ; but had also to issue general

instructions on subjects connected with its good administration.

Her Highness inspected the Treasury and Tosha Khana in person and took account of every item therein.

Clearance of State Debts.

The State had become indebted to the extent of about seven lakhs of rupees, incurred in buying ornaments, clothes and furniture for my dowry, the price of which had not been paid to the shopkeepers. All the materials were in the Tosha Khana. There was also a large sum of money in the coffers of the State. Her Highness took immediate steps to clear the State of its debts. All the shopkeepers got their dues paid off.

Clearance of Arrears of Pending Legal Cases.

The late Nawab Secunder Begum was devoted to hard work. She had embarked upon a large number of preliminary reforms. In her time there was dearth of qualified and educated men in the State. Although much of the Begum's time was taken up by important affairs of the State, yet she had added to her burden the supervision of smaller functions. Then again, she travelled a great deal during the latter part of her reign, and the voyage to

the Hedjaz was the longest and the most tedious of her many travels. Her health too had broken down at about this period ; and though she strove hard to supervise and look after the work of the different departments, she could not cope up with all the work. The result was that at the time of her demise a very large number of papers and cases had accumulated in the various offices. Soon after her accession Nawab Shahjehan Begum established a new Department by the name of "Department for clearing arrears of cases for past years." At the same time she increased the number of clerks in the offices of the departments concerned, issuing orders to the effect that pending cases should be taken in hand and cleared with the utmost speed. With a view to check unnecessary delay, she had a statement prepared, giving full details of the arrears of cases cleared, which used to be submitted to her regularly every three months. Cases that required Her Highness's final orders used to be placed before her daily, for disposal.

Tours of Inspection.

And now she began to tour her districts, with a view to acquaint herself with first hand information about her State.

Southern Districts.

The subjects of the State had grown accustomed to visits paid to the mofusil by their former Ruler. During these tours the villagers used to bring their petitions and grievances to my grandmother to obtain redress at her powerful hands. But when Nawab Secunder Begum had succeeded in putting things right, and the fifteen years' revenue settlement had come into force, she gave up the practice of touring in the outlying districts. This work then devolved upon the Madar-Ul-Muham. But on assumption of her power Nawab Shahjehan Begum revived the salutary custom of touring the districts. Within three months of her accession she started on an extensive tour of the Southern District, in 1285 A.H., it being the most important district in the State. The first halt was made at Chhipaner, the head-quarters of the Tahsil. All the "Jagirdars," Muafidars," "Mahajons," "Patwaries" and "Balahies" were presented to Her Highness, from whom she learned the true condition of the district. The District Officers used to be present on such occasions. The petitions submitted by her subjects used to

be despatched with due care and diligence. Those that required investigation were handed over to the officials, for obtaining futher information, and preparing a full report on the case, to be submitted to her, later on, for her final orders. In some portions of the districts the Zamindars had realized more than their dues from their cultivators. After making detailed inquiries, the Zamindars were called upon to promptly pay back to the cultivators the extra charges levied by them ; and the officials who had connived at such iniquitous extortion were punished with heavy fines. Other "Mahals" were also visited, and the tour terminated with the inspection of the Commissioner's office at his head-quarters at Gauharganj. Her Highness returned to Bhopal on the 27th Moharram 1286 A.H.

In this tour altogether 4,360 petitions were submitted to the Ruler. She paid personal attention to all these petitions and suitable orders were passed on them all.

Tour of the Western District.

Her Highness started on her second tour, this time in the Western district, on 26th Zeeqa'ad 1286 A.H. (26th February

1870). The Political Agent and other officials of the Agency received Her Highness at Sehore. A Gymkhana was held in her honour and she examined the pupils of the Cantonment School. Nearly three months were taken up in touring the entire Western District. Her Highness decided to realize land revenue, which had fallen due, by allowing the "Mustajars" to pay back their arrears by easy instalments; and thus it became possible to bring into the coffers of the State a large amount of money, without dislocating the affairs of these defaulters.

The jungles of this district had become infested with tigers and Nawab Secunder Begum had fixed a reward of five rupees for killing a tiger. Her Highness Shahjehan Begum raised the reward to twenty rupees.

Tour of the Eastern District.

Her Highness left Bhopal to tour the Eastern District on the 3rd Shauval 1287 A.H. An extensive tour of the district made her acquainted with the general condition of the people of this part of her domains. On reaching Ghairatganj, a village belonging to the crown-lands, she gave a big feast to all the rank and file in her retinue. Similarly on

reaching Garhi-Ambapani, the head-quarters of my own jagir, another feast was given to the rank and file, where I did the honours, as hostess. Having paid a visit to the far-famed Buddhist ruins at Sanchi, Her Highness returned to Bhopal, after spending full two months in touring the district.

Second Tour of the Southern District.

Having visited all the districts in her State in three successive years, Her Highness toured for a second time the Southern district, in 1288 A.H. She stayed in each mahal for two weeks and to her great delight found that much improvement had taken place everywhere since her last visit. These tours proved of great help to Her Highness in instituting some of her most memorable and far-reaching reforms in the general administration of the State.

LAND REVENUE REFORMS.

Distribution of the Tahsils;

Nawab Secunder Begum had divided the State into three districts. The work of administration had now become complex and very heavy and this required most careful attention and supervision on the part of the respective Nazims (Commissioners) of the

Districts. The area of each district was found to be too large to be managed by one officer. So Her Highness created a fourth district and distributed the Tahsils and thanas among them. The Huzur Tahsil was put under the direct control of the Revenue Minister, and the boundaries of all the Tahsils were demarcated afresh.

The "Sih Karohi."

A new department under the name of "Sih Karohi" was opened, and villages situated within a radius of three miles from Bhopal were placed under this management. The main object of the new departure was to obtain a steady supply of grain, to the town, in times of necessity.

Revenue free landholders.

An old law of the State laid it down that when a muafidar (Revenue free land-holder) died without a male issue, his freehold lapsed to the State. But out of a spirit of generosity and for the sake of justice, Her Highness laid it down, that in future, if a muafidar died leaving behind him no male child, then his daughter was not to be deprived of her rights in the freehold.

Cadastral Survey of the Bhopal State.

A very rough cadastral survey of the State of Bhopal was made in the reign of

Nawab Secunder Begum, and on its basis a settlement had been made with the Mustajars (Government Land Revenue Contractors) for a period of 15 years. This period was about to close when Her Highness' attention was directed to the value of a scientific and reliable survey of the whole State, including jagir lands. Separate maps were prepared for each district and pargana; and a large map of the whole State was also drawn up. On the occasion of the last settlement, the land had been classified into eighteen different types, and revenue fixed according to the crop-producing quality of arable land in each village. This time the land was divided into only six kinds, namely, three classes each, of well irrigated and naturally watered lands. The revenue was fixed by taking an average of previous rates. In this Settlement the convenience and ability of the Mustajars to pay their dues were duly taken into account. In her tour of the Eastern District Her Highness went personally to see certain fields of the Jethari "mahal," to inspect the working of the Settlement operation and to satisfy her-

self that no injustice, or unnecessary hardship, was being imposed on the agriculturists. This settlement brought in a large addition to the revenue of the State, which increased from Rs. 20,94,000 to Rs. 32,04,051-3-9 exclusive of the area incorporated under jagir lands.

But before the land revenue could be collected from all the mahals, complaints began to reach Her Highness of the high rate at which the land had been assessed. In some places a little hardship was really felt ; but generally speaking the rates were not high. The report submitted by Colonel Ward, the then Minister of the State, after he had toured the Southern District, established the fact that all the grievances were not true. He wrote "I visited Chhipaner and found that the twenty years' Settlement of the Pargana was made in a most satisfactory manner. The rates were just and equitable. There is no doubt that complaints have been received about the high figure of the assessment, but to me it appears to be quite fair and reasonable.

Col: Ward's tour.

I have been to seventeen villages in two days and am glad to report that the complaint

of high rates cannot be applied to this mahal. Some mistakes have no doubt been made, but these can be easily rectified."

On his return from the tour of the Eastern District Colonel Ward further wrote "I visited the mahals of the South ; and was greatly pleased to see them in a flourishing and prosperous condition. In most of these holdings the assessment of land revenue has been quite fair and the average adopted as the basis of assessment not high. I therefore recommend that the settlement should remain as it stands." In spite of this Her Highness published a notification inviting any Mustajar, who had a just complaint to make, to submit his application to her.

Remission of Revenue & customs duties, etc.

To receive complaints against the rates of assessment by the settlement officers and to revise them in cases of real hardship a separate department was created. How much Her Highness was interested in the advancement of her beloved subjects can be easily gauged from the fact that *she remitted the revenue and customs dues of the past years to the enormous extent of more than fifty lakhs of rupees.* This amount included taxes

from shopkeepers. Certain other taxes which brought in fifty thousand a year were also remitted. Her Highness also discontinued the levy of "nazar" of one anna per cent. of their income from her officials on the occasion of different ceremonies in the Ruler's family. On the occasion of my "Nashra" ceremony alone as much as Rs. 95,217 had fallen due; but Her Highness wrote off this amount and abolished the custom altogether.

Ryotwari Settlement.

Preparations for another settlement for a period of 10 years were begun, during the time of Vizier Imtiaz Ali, and official papers were drawn up. But operations had not yet begun when somehow the officials drew Her Highness' attention towards the "Ryotwari Settlement" system, by which the State came into direct contact with each cultivator. The new system was forthwith ntroduced, though no regular survey of the land for such a system had been carried out. Hitherto the system of farming out villages to Mustajars had been followed. Now these middlemen "Mustajars" were dispensed with, and the land was directly leased out to cultivators, the assessment

being fixed on the actual produce of the land.

Famines in past years had reduced the cultivators almost to abject poverty. Much of the land was lying fallow. Moreover epidemics had taken a heavy toll of the suburban population. The "Mahajans" (money-lenders) had stopped advancing money and supplying grain for cultivation to poor villagers. The local Ministry taking advantage of this abnormal state of affairs, drew Her Highness's attention to the benefits of the "taqavi" system and succeeded in obtaining her orders to the issue of "taqavi" deeds to the cultivators *i.e.*, advancing them money and supplying grain to them for cultivation. With her usual generosity and magnanimity Her Highness further ordered that only so much grain was to be taken back from the cultivators at harvest time as was actually advanced to them, and not a grain more. The additional fourth part of the grain advanced, (which money-lenders would otherwise have realized from the cultivators, as interest, on the price of the amount of grain loaned for sowing), was to be kept by the

cultivator himself, for sowing in the coming year. By this means it was thought that in about three years' time the cultivator would become independent of any assistance from the money-lender, either in the shape of grain or of money. Accordingly, through officers specially appointed for the purpose, *the State distributed grain for cultivation worth forty-five lakhs of rupees.* This arrangement worked quite satisfactorily for a time. The general condition of villagers improved considerably, and much of the fallow land was brought under cultivation. But the officials of the Revenue Department were slow in realizing the total amount of grain advanced to the cultivators. In the following year a drought further ruined the chances of collecting these arrears. Thus *the State had to suffer the enormous loss of several lakhs of rupees.* The arrangements made by the Revenue Minister, at this time, for realizing these arrears proved utterly profitless to the State, *but highly profitable to the officials* entrusted with the work. Thus a most laudable and generous act on the part of Her Highness was transformed into a

source of loss to the State, solely through the venality of the officers of the Department concerned.

The third settlement was carried out during the time of Khan Bahadur Abdul Jabbar Khan, C.I.E., soon after the death of Munshi Imtiaz Ali. Her Highness had expressed her great sorrow and displeasure at the unhappy results of the former settlement, carried out during the life time of the late Vizier. She had become fully convinced of the utter worthlessness of the "Ryotwari" system. No sooner was Moulvi Abdul Jabbar Khan appointed Vizier than Her Highness ordered him to take immediate steps to revert to the former "Mustajari" System, by a preliminary three years' Settlement. She further ordered that preparations should be begun for a regular mustajari Settlement for a longer period. The former order was carried out forthwith and preparations were begun for the longer thirty years' settlement. But only a few villages had thus been settled and leased out, when Her Highness died and the great work she had embarked upon remained unfinished

There occurred three famines during Her Highness's reign. The first famine of 1878, was not a very severe one and a good deal of hardship was mitigated by opening ordinary relief works at the proper time. Famines.

But the second famine of 1894 was very severe and proved to be a terrible calamity to the subjects of the State. On this occasion, besides opening relief works and poor houses, the State imported large quantities of grain and distributed it among the cultivators, as "taqavi." The State incurred a very heavy loss at this time owing to the high rates of exchange. Ordinarily the State paid 10 per cent. on this account, *i.e.*, for exchanging Bhopal money for British coinage. But the bankers, who always take advantage of such critical times, raised the rate of exchange to 25, and in some cases, even to 30 per cent. Nevertheless, Her Highness continued to spend as much as she could to lessen the sufferings of her beloved subjects. The expenditure had become so lavish that His Excellency Lord Elgin, while paying a well deserved tribute to the famine relief policy of Her Highness, in his speech delivered on the

occasion of the State Dinner, had also indirectly, and in a pleasant manner, to advise her to practise some sort of economy.

In spite of the work of famine relief the extra work of prevention of crime and safe guarding the life and property of her subjects proceeded apace. Her Highness personally read all reports submitted to her and issued necessary orders. This heavy work imposed a severe strain on her and well-nigh proved injurious to her health.

The third famine, which took place in 1899-1900, was still more wide-spread than its predecessors. Its visitation included many parts of India. In spite of the many recurrences of famine, Bhopal did not suffer so much on this occasion, as other parts of the country. Nor were the prospects of harvest very alarming here. All the same, the situation was full of anxiety and the people of the State stood in dire need of relief. The last-mentioned famine drove thousands of people to migrate into Bhopal territory, from many parts of India. Her Highness's generosity not only diminished the sufferings

of her own subjects but also afforded a generous *asylum* to the homeless and helpless immigrants from abroad.

Alms houses were opened for them and a Committee was formed to look after their comfort.

So far, five regular census operations have been carried out in Bhopal. The first census was taken during the last days of Her Highness the Nawab Secunder Begum. The population was then reckoned at 744,542 souls. **Census.**

The second census was conducted in the fourth year of Nawab Shahjehan Begum's reign, when population had increased by 45,197 souls. But the most correct census was taken in the year 1881, when under elaborate instructions issued by the Supreme Government, the entire population of India was registered on one and the same date. The total number of population of Bhopal in this census was 951,901, but in the year 1891 there was a decrease of 2,500. A further decrease of 2,889,401 was shown in the decennial census of 1901, owing, it is

said, to the ravages of the famines of 1894 and 1900.

Coinage.

Bhopal had always its own coinage, bearing mint marks of its successive Rulers. During Her Highness's time also coin was minted and issued for circulation. But as the coins current in other neighbouring States contained a greater portion of silver, our people had to pay a high percentage in exchange. To obviate this difficulty Her Highness issued a coinage of equal weight and value to those current outside Bhopal. This new coin had "Sheen" (the first letter of Her Highness's name) inscribed on one side, and the obverse showed the Hijri year of its issue; and was coined in the State mint. Further, to facilitate commerce and to bring the exchange on a par, it was thought that the adoption of British India coinage for Bhopal would prove of great value. Accordingly the Government of India was approached on the matter of exchanging all Bhopal coins for those current in British India. The Government agreed to exchange a hundred and twenty-four (Shahjehani) rupees for one hundred

British rupees. A proclamation was issued on 1st July 1897 (the 29 Muharram 315 A.H.) informing the public of the change in currency. The rules and regulations affecting this change of currency were also published in the same Gazette, and were held applicable not only to the territories of Bhopal alone but to those of Rajgarh, Maqsoodangarh, Narsingarh, Sohathala and other smaller States in the Bhopal Agency, where Bhopal coin had hitherto been current.

The period for getting the coins changed was fixed from the 1st October 1897 to the 1st February 1898. Bhopal coins ceased to be current from the last date; being thereafter valued as silver metal only, *i.e.*, at the net cost of silver contained in each coin. In order to save her people any loss Her Highness published a circular that all Bhopal coins that had lost weight, through use, to the extent of 2 per cent., should be exchanged for their full value in British Indian coin, and that only 24 per cent. should be deducted from the deposit already made by the mustajirs as land revenue, as also for

money realized in attaching jagir properties. Her Highness also ordered that no exchange was to be charged from State servants getting only ten rupees or less a month, and only ten per cent. from those getting more. The populace was to pay nothing for exchanging the current Bhopal coin with the Queen's Indian coin, effected in State Treasury. *This change of currency meant an annual loss to the State of about Rs.* 15,000; but for the sake of public good, and the convenience of her subjects, *Her Highness never cared for this loss.* When the Government of India was officially notified of the change that had been effected in Bhopal currency, and also of the generosity shown by Her Highness to her subjects on this occasion, they expressed their great appreciation of it; and sent messages of congratulations to Her Highness, through the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, for the happy and successful settlement of this urgent problem.

Post and Telegraph.

The Postal system was started in Bhopal in 1862, but, so far, only official papers and letters were carried from place

to place, by postal runners. Her Highness systematized the work and made the Department as efficient as it is in British India. Post offices, with peons and runners, were opened in each Tahsil, and a Head Office with supervisionary powers, was opened in Bhopal. Postage stamps, of different values, were issued and sold to the public. At first, except in Bhopal and in Sehore, no other place in the State had a British Post Office; but in order to facilitate the transmission of post from a place inside the State to places outside it, Her Highness, after consultation with Political Officers, opened in the State many British Post Offices, managed by the Supreme Government.

Long before Bhopal had any Railway Her Highness, taking into consideration the needs and requirements of her subjects, and specially of the mercantile people, sanctioned a large amount of money for the opening of a Telegraph Office in the State.

Till the year 1868 not one Railway line had been laid in all Central India. The Great Indian Peninsula Railway terminated Railways.

at Khandwa; while in the North, the East Indian Railway line stopped at Agra. At that time Sir Henry Daly was Agent to the Governor-General in Indore.

A great famine was then raging in Central India. It was the third year of its visitation. Seeing the hardship and misery of the wretched people, owing to the lack of a Railway system, Sir Henry lost no time in calling the attention of the Government of India to this serious drawback, and the most pressing need of this part of the country.

The condition of Bhopal had been comparatively better during this great calamity, but owing to the lack of any means of importing grain, the State could not give any satisfactory help to the neighbouring towns. These conditions made the Rulers of Central Indian States realize the great importance of rail roads and His Highness the Maharaja Holkar was the first to arrange with the Government for the laying of a metre-gauge line from Khandwa to Indore.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia and Her Highness Shahjehan Begum decided in

favour of broad-gauge line to be opened in their respective States. Sir Henry Daly visited Bhopal, to talk the matter over in detail with Her Highness the Begum. She promised to assist the project from the coffers of the State, and also to induce the Nawab Qudsia Begum to advance a large amount from her privy purse.

The two Begums, after mutual consultation, decided to advance altogether Rs. 35 lakhs by annual instalments, in such wise that Rs. 25 lakhs was to be provided by the State, by annual instalments of Rs. 5 lakhs, and ten lakhs by the Qudsia Begum, by annual instalments of Rs. 2 lakhs. *Both the Begums refused to charge interest on religious grounds.*

At first it was proposed to construct the line from Ujjain to Bhopal and from Bhopal to Itarsi. But, on second thoughts, Her Highness came to the conclusion that unless the Itarsi line was extended to Jhansi and Agra it would prove of no great benefit. After a good deal of correspondence it was decided to start the preliminary survey work from Sehore to Itarsi, via Bhopal, as also of the

direct line from Agra to Jhansi and thence to Lalitpur, and Bhilsa and on to Bhopal. The survey of the Ujjain-Sehore line was to be taken in hand after the completion of the Itarsi-Bhopal section. Later on, it was agreed that the State should advance Rs. 35 lakhs, in lieu of 25 lakhs, and Nawab Qudsia Begum to contribute Rs. 15 lakhs, instead of Rs. 10 lakhs. When these preliminaries had been finally settled, an agreement was signed between the State and the Government of India regarding these Railway lines.*

It was further decided that if, on any future occasion, the State wished to withdraw its share in the Railway, it would have the right to take back the full amount. In a Kharita addressed to Her Highness, His Excellency the Viceroy complimented the farsighted generosity displayed by Her Highness in this matter. Recalling a remark of the late Nawab Secunder Begum His Excellency wrote "I well remember Secunder Begum saying to me that the Indian States

*See Appendix No. XI for the Articles of Agreement; and Appendices Nos. XII and XIII for Supplementary and Final Agreements. (Pp. 281—287).

are practically blind, possessing no roads, no railways and no telegraph system. Bhopal will now have all these." During the preparation of the Articles of Agreement, Her Highness insisted upon the construction of large and well built carriages to be run on broad-gauge lines. The route to be followed by the railway, and the sites for the different stations having been selected, the construction work was carried on at such great speed that the line was ready for traffic by the year 1882 (1302 A.H.). His Excellency the Governor-General sanctioned the construction of three State saloons for the use of Her Highness, at the expense of Bhopal State Railway. The first Class saloon was built in England, and the second and third class saloons were built at the Railway Workshops at Jhansi.

On finishing the construction of this section, the work of the Ujjain line was taken up in 1891. It was at first proposed to construct this line on the metre-gauge system, but Her Highness approached the Government of India for a broad-gauge line, which, after some correspondence, the Government was pleased to sanction. This

part of the Railway cost the State Rs. 18,89,068-2-11, and was ready for traffic in 1896.

Excise and Customs.

There was of course a law of some sort relating to customs revenue current in the State, but it required a great deal of alteration and improvement. Her Highness had the whole machinery of the Excise Department overhauled. The departments—Customs and Excise—were amalgamated, and a new law framed for the combined Departments.

Forests.

There is an extensive forest area in Bhopal. Till now only the Ginnaur forests had been reserved for the requirements of the State. Her Highness extended this area by reserving certain other tracts also, as preserved forests; and appointed a large number of officers and men to take proper care of these forest areas. Arrangements were also made for planting new trees, with a view to producing better timber. The Jagirdars were ordered henceforth to take good care of all the forests within their respective areas. Forest Laws were enacted and promulgated throughout the State. As a result of all these improvements Bhopal began to

produce timber which, though a little inferior to Bombay timber, is of quite good and serviceable quality.

Although the land of Bhopal is specially adopted to the cultivation of poppy seed, neither the cultivators, nor the State, had till then, paid any attention towards enriching this source of income, and therefore the opium produce in the State was quite insignificant, so far as its quantity was concerned. At Her Highness's special desire the area under poppy seed cultivation was largely increased in 1893, and the State began to produce opium in such large quantities that, soon after, a permanent Opium Agency had to be established in Bhopal. **Cultivation of Poppy seed.**

It occurred to Her Highness, in the year 1882, to start mills and ginning factories in the State. These factories, apart from the support they would afford to the labouring classes, and the benefit they would confer upon the general public, were also calculated to add to the revenues of the State. A factory was therefore started with a capital of Rs. 7 lakhs. In the beginning of 1310 A.H. it was ready for work, and the opening ceremony was **Cotton Mills.**

performed on the 21st Muharram. The Political Agent and other European Officers were present on the occasion.

The factory is situated on an extensive ground to the east of Shahjehanabad and has also a bungalow in the compound, for the Manager's residence. It affords employment to nearly 200 men daily. As a rule it works in full swing, during the cotton season, from December to May. It gins and presses into bales cotton belonging to the merchants of the State, which is then exported to Bombay, and other centres of cotton trade.

Reforms in the Judicial Branch.

Ever since her accession Her Highness had always paid great attention to the reform of the Judicial system ; but when a responsible Minister was appointed the Administration of Justice was raised to a much higher standard. Nazims and Tahsildars received additional powers, while Police officers were relieved of their judicial functions. This led to a general improvement in the efficiency and working of the whole machinery of administration.

The Minister was empowered with full

criminal and civil jurisdictions, except in certain cases such as capital punishment, penal servitude for life, and sanction in matters of leasing villages to mustajirs, which were reserved for the final orders of the Ruler. Two assistant Ministers, one for hearing Revenue appeals, the other for hearing Criminal and Civil appeals, were appointed to assist the Minister. They had also the supervision of the general working of the several departments under their respective jurisdictions.*

The Bench and the Bar.

A Sadar-us-Sadoor (Sub-Judge) and a Sadar-ul-Muham (Sessions Judge) were also appointed. Again, the daily increasing amount of litigation in the city necessitated the creation of two new courts, that of the Sadar Amin, and of the Munsif. Two new Magistrates were also appointed to hear the criminal suits of the City.

For the convenience of the public, and to assist the Judges in deciding cases before them, certificates were granted to able and qualified persons to practice as Pleaders in the several Law Courts.

* See Chapter IV.

Legislative Department.

Her Highness caused a Legislative Department, under the name of "Tanzimat-i-Shahjehani" to be forthwith established. Civil, Revenue and Criminal Codes, and also other laws dealing with special subjects, used to be drawn up by this Department. On receiving Her Highness's sanction, these Laws were printed in the State Printing Press, and published throughout the State. The Department continued to enact new rules, laws and regulations, from time to time, and one of its chief functions was to reform the existing laws, by effecting their amendments and alterations. Thus the department prepared elaborate Civil, Criminal and Revenue Codes for Bhopal. The State Penal Code was given the name of "Tazirat-Shahjehani"; the Criminal Procedure Code was called the "Tambihat-Shahjehani;" and the Civil Procedure Code became known as "Tauziat-i-Shahjehani."

Baronial Courts Abolished:

The late Nawab Secunder Begum, out of regard for her relations, had conferred Civil and Criminal powers on these Jagirdars in their respective courts, within their fiefs (jagirs); but these nobles misused their powers,

much to the detriment of the well-being and prosperity of the people living in their jagirs. Her Highness; therefore deprived these nobles of their summary powers of hearing and deciding cases, arising in their own baronial courts, and gave the State Courts full Civil and Criminal powers over these jagirs. The people now had easy access to justice.

NEW LAWS ENACTED.

The most important function of the law courts, in Civil as well as Criminal suits, is to enforce a just claim. Formerly, the decree-holder could attach only that much property of the debtor which the latter showed himself possessed of. The property used to be sold by auction, and the creditor was, under law bound, to pass a receipt for the *total* amount of his claim, for whatever amount was realized at the auction! This was an obvious injustice to the creditor; and gave the debtor opportunity to evade the law, by hiding his property, or otherwise passing it on to his friends and relatives, before the date of the auction; and then taking it back from them, when the auction was over.

Thereafter, the debtor could openly enjoy the possession of his remaining property. The decree-holder was thus, almost invariably, cheated of his rights. Her Highness repealed this illegal law and commanded that henceforth receipts should be passed only for so much money as could be actually realized at the auction sale and given to the decree-holder. As for the remainder of the amount still due to him, the moment he could show the debtor possessed of any more property, the decree-holder was empowered to enforce and realize his full claim.

Law of Limitation.

There was a slight difference in the Law of Limitation, as it obtained in Bhopal and Sehore, and as there were frequent mercantile transactions carried on between the people of these two places, the litigants of Sehore were liable to suffer loss by such restrictions. The law was accordingly amended and made applicable to both places.

Insolvency Act.

There were no laws enacted for Insolvency in Bhopal, nor were there any rules for the institution of suits under *forma pauperis* in the State. Both these laws were now introduced in the State, as they are in force in

British India. Amendments were also made regarding the period assigned for appeals.

Court Fee Act.

A Court Fee Act was also passed; the stamps for this purpose were printed in the State Printing Press.

Arms Act.

Her Highness passed an Arms Act in 1896, principally with the intention of depriving the criminal classes of their right to keep arms, as also to check their lawless deeds. The Mustajirs, Vakils, State servants, Muafidars and Jagirdars were privileged to retain arms without obtaining any license.

Reforms in the Police Department.

The Kotwal of the City used to conduct the investigation of Criminal cases. He was also in charge of the Jail. These duties were now assigned to different functionaries. A Superintendent of Jail was appointed to look after the jail. The Kotwal was left to do his proper police work.

Establishment of a proper Police Force.

In Bhopal, and a few other places, the salaries of chaukidars and watchmen used to be realized from the citizens, in the form of a tax. Nawab Shahjehan Begum abolished this system altogether; and in place of

chaukidars organised a regular Police Force, and the men were posted to various Police stations. The number of men in the different Police stations was increased later on. A Reserve Police Force, to go round the villages in mofussil and patrol all the important roads, was also established.

Suppression of Thugee and Dacoity.

There are certain places in the State which, owing to their peculiar hilly situation, were not safe for travellers; dacoits used to infest these places, and also gave occasion for cattle lifting. Her Highness adopted special measures to see that travellers were not molested by posting sowars and watchmen in these parts, who, by constantly patrolling the roads, made them quite safe for the public.

An Officer with a suitable staff was appointed to check the misdeeds of the "Mogias"—a criminal tribe.

A special Officer, the "Muntazim" Police, was appointed, as Head of the Police Department, to supervise the working of the Police Force. An Inspector of Police was also appointed in each district, for the mufassil Police Force.

In fact the whole Police Department was reorganised and placed on a sound footing.

Improvements effected in the Medical Department.

A Native Physician, with good stock of medicines, was appointed in each "Mahal," or District of the State, so as to afford villagers facilities in medical treatment. Medical men trained according to the European system, with well equipped dispensaries under their charge, were posted in places where it was thought they would prove useful.

The "Prince of Wales" Hospital.

In Bhopal itself, Her Highness established a large and well equipped hospital which is known as the "Prince of Wales" Hospital. This hospital is meant for males only.

"The Lady Lansdowne" Hospital.

A hospital for females was also opened when H. E. Lord Lansdowne visited Bhopal, in October 1891. Her Highness added to this female hospital a class for the training of midwives to commemorate the Viceregal visit; and, later, making extensive additions to the already existing building, she named it "Lady Lansdowne" Hospital. It was placed in

charge of a qualified European Lady Doctor, who fitted it up with all the necessary equipments. The new wings of this hospital were opened on the 21st May 1892, the anniversary of the birthday of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress. Major M. G. Meade, the Political Agent, and other European and Indian guests, as also the State officials and the gentry of the town, attended the function, which was held on a grand scale. In the speech, which preceded the ceremony, the late Begum described the aims and the object of the institution and concluded her speech with the following words :—

Her Highness's Speech.

" I hold it a very happy omen for the future of this extended institution that the date of its opening ceremony should coincide with the anniversary of Her Most Gracious Majesty's birth date. It is hoped that our people will be greatly benefited by the establishment of this hospital. It is our pleasure to name it the " Lady Lansdowne Hospital," to commemorate Her Excellency's visit to this State. I am glad to say that the Lady Doctor has carried out her preliminary

duties of fitting up the hospital in a very creditable manner. I trust that the institution will continue to prove its utility under her charge, and the midwives trained by her in this institution, will prove themselves highly useful for our beloved subjects. It is also my wish that Major Meade be pleased to open this Hospital."

Major Meade, in declaring the Institution open, dwelt upon the usefulness of such hospitals, and praised Her Highness for the regard she always showed for the welfare of her subjects. The function came to a close after the distribution of garlands, and "atar pan."

Vaccination Department.

Nothing has proved more efficacious in the prevention of small-pox than vaccination; and now the rich and the poor alike have come to realise its usefulness. But thirty, or more, years ago people were much afraid of being vaccinated. Great difficulty used to be experienced everywhere in getting people vaccinated. Her Highness was however convinced of its utility and forthwith opened a Vaccination Department in Bhopal, and got her own grandson Nawab

Mohammad Nasrullah Khan, of happy memory, vaccinated first. As a further incentive she also appointed a special reward for each child that was vaccinated.

The Sehore Hospital.

An annual allotment was also fixed for the hospital at Sehore. People suffering from leprosy were ordered to leave the city, and were housed somewhere else. Food was supplied to them from the State Poor-house. After a time a Leper Asylum was opened at Sehore, also under the supervision of the Agency Surgeon. The expenses of this Asylum were borne by the State.

Jail Reforms.

At first the old fort was used as the Central Jail of Bhopal, but after a time, a regular Jail was built on the top of a hill, south-east of Jehangirabad, and all the inmates of the old jail were transferred into it. Arrangements were also made to train prisoners in some useful arts, to enable them to lead an honest life, after their release. The jail had its own Superintendent, to look after its proper management.

MILITARY REFORMS.

During her life time Nawab Shahjehan Begum never had an opportunity of seeing

military manoeuvres in person, nor did she ever have the chance of going to a field of action, so that she might be able to form a correct idea of modern military improvements. Neither had she a male child, or a brother, who could wholeheartedly assist her with his experience in initiating reforms in the Military Department of the State. In spite of all these drawbacks, Her Highness took a good deal of interest in the progress and efficiency of her State Forces, and although a woman, she naturally possessed the military ardour of a scion of a warrior race.

Reforms put in force by Her Highness in the Army Department proved very valuable. She increased the salary of the rank and file of the State Forces; reformed the equipment of the Body Guard by giving them a very pretty uniform. Waler horses replaced bullocks in the artillery, and a modern magazine was established in the old fort at Fatehgarh. During her visit to Calcutta, Her Highness had seen the Armoury in Fort William, and was generally pleased with what she saw there. On her

return to Bhopal she opened a similar armoury here and adorned it with different kinds of arms and accoutrements. Inside the armoury, in the first hall, were kept rifles, pistols, swords and flags of the State Regiments; while in the second were kept Her Highness's own guns, rifles, carbines, pistols, shields, swords and the State emblems of royalty called the "Mahi Maratab." Flags and festoons were hung from the ceiling; while lances, bayonets and pistols were arranged on the walls in different artistic designs.

The Army of the State was divided into two parts,—the State Forces and the "Imperial Service Troops,"—and each section had its own Officers and Commandants. New barracks were built for these officers.

Band.

The old military music was replaced by a regularly constituted modern military Band. Pension rules were made applicable to the Army also. Old and incapacitated soldiers were pensioned off.

Raising of Imperial Service Troops.

In 1885, when the Russians attacked Penjdeh, it was universally believed that England would go to war with Russia. The Rulers of

Indian States hastened to place their services at the disposal of the Government of India. But matters were settled peacefully. War was not declared. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne it was decided that the Rulers of Indian States were to maintain a certain number of Regiments, giving them the same training as are given to British troops. They would be periodically inspected by British Military Officers. Their services were to be utilised by the Imperial Government, in case of need. The profound feeling of loyalty and devotion which Her Highness always entertained for the British Government induced her to propose to raise and maintain a regiment of Infantry, a regiment of Cavalry and one of Artillery, at the cost of the State, for Imperial Service. But the Government of India sanctioned the formation of only one Regiment. Her Highness forthwith started preparations for the organisation of a Regiment of Imperial Service Troops. Capt. G. Edwards, Inspecting Officer of the Imperial Service Troops, for Central India, was requested to submit the preliminary estimates. Rs. 1,25,000

were set apart for the uniform and cost of the horses for Troopers. Rs. 1,00,000 were estimated as the cost of building cavalry barracks. The Cavalry was to be composed of nine hundred Sowars. The total cost to the State, for the upkeep of this regiment, was estimated at Rs. 16,968-8-0 a month.

Her Highness sanctioned the estimates prepared by Captain Edwards. It was Her Highness's wish that the men of this regiment should be recruited from amongst the Mahomedans of Bhopal, whose ancestors had all been soldiers by profession, so as to conserve their old martial ardour. After consulting Captain Edwards the services of 138 sowars, from the rank and file of the State Forces, were transferred to the new Regiment; 42 recruits were admitted as sowars; 22 men were taken as menial servants. Major Hasan-uddin, Risaldar of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Contingent was appointed as Commanding Officer. The Cavalry Regiment was thus started with a compliment of 205 men and officers. The scale of salary in this regiment was purposely kept high, with a view to attract men to join it in large numbers.

The division of the men in the regiment, when completed, was to be as follows :—

Sowars	500
Syces	283
Camp followers	74
Medical Staff	11
Dhobi, barber, etc.	32
Total ..	900

The Government of India was officially informed about this regiment and, in reply, Lord Elgin, the then Viceroy, sent a Kharita, in gracious acknowledgment.*

In his official letter Major M. G. Meade informed the Durbar of the decision of the Government of India that the Imperial Service Troops will be governed by the same laws and rules regulating precedence, on all ceremonial and parade occasion, as in force regarding regular British troops in India.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

A new branch of service was opened in the State, that of the Public Works Department, to be in charge of the construction and upkeep of roads ; and large amounts were

* See Appendix No. XIV.

spent in building bridges and culverts and improving the general condition of the roads, throughout the length and breadth of the State.

WORKS OF PUBLIC UTILITY.

(*a*) *Water Works.*—Through the generosity of Nawab Qudsia Begum, Bhopal already possessed a system of Waterworks. But the suburbs of the town and Shahjahanabad still suffered from inadequacy of water-supply. Nawab Shahjehan Begum opened up sources of water-supply, by increasing the number of reservoirs, tanks and wells in places where water-pipes could not be laid. There are still in existence several bridges and bathing ghats in the city, built by Her Highness, and among these the "Shahjahani bridge" and the "Shahjahani ghat" are well known.

(*b*) *Canal.*—To commemorate the golden jubilee of the Queen Empress, Her Highness ordered a canal to be dug, from the Lower lake, near the "Pul Puhkta", to carry water to such portions of the city as were still outside the reach of the water-works system, as also for the irrigation of neighbouring

fields. It took three years to complete this canal; and water was first supplied to Shahjahanabad and the "Nishat-afza" garden on the 22nd Ramzan 1308 A. H. This canal carries water right up to Islamnagar and irrigates fields in that portion of the State. Several branches were made from the main canal, from time to time, to carry water over a more extensive area.

Metalled Roads.

Over and above the large amounts spent on building new roads and repairing old ones in the city of Bhopal, Her Highness spent many lakhs of rupees, opening up trunk roads throughout the State. One of these was the road from Sehore to Ashta, the Head-quarters of the Eastern District; another road was built from Ashta to Sonekuch, right up to the frontier of the Gwalior territory. To reach the Northern District, Her Highness ordered the construction of a new road from Bhopal to Bairasia, the seat of the District, and a fourth one was made from Hirania Railway station to Gauharganj, the head-quarters of the Southern District.

Wells and Tanks.

Throughout the State, where she found it necessary, Her Highness caused thousands

of wells and tanks to be built in all the outlying districts.

Camping Grounds.

The boundaries of camping grounds in all her State were fixed and hedged in, and fruit-bearing trees, affording shade and rest to travellers, were planted in them.

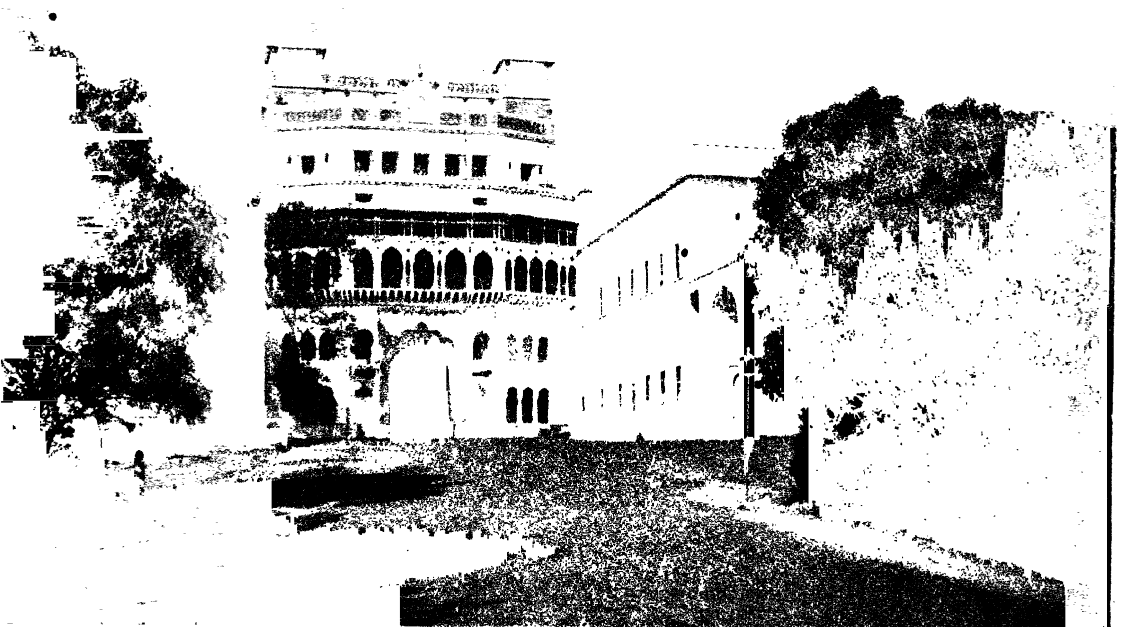
New Buildings.

Her Highness' love for erecting large buildings and palaces was in no way less than that of her great namesake, the Emperor Shahjehan, of Delhi. A complete list of all the buildings she erected for public utility, and to beautify Bhopal, would be a long one. We shall, however, content ourselves by making mention here of only the larger and more prominent of these edifices.

Sarai Sikandari.

In memory of her revered mother she built a pucca inn, near the Railway Station, and called it " Sarai Sikandari." A special feature of this " Sarai " is that travellers belonging to all stations of life, find the place suitable for their accommodation.

The fine group of buildings called "Ali Manzil," and the "Benazair," as well as those commonly known as the "Taj Mahal palaces," were built in Shahjahanabad, for her personal use. Money flowed like water in their cons-



Entrance to Taj Mahal.

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truction. The result was a magnificent piece of work, forming a triumph of the architect's art, fulfilling every anticipation of the munificent Begum.

The frescoed gateways of the Taj Mahal Palace are so wide and spacious that a four-in-hand could be easily driven about within its portico. There are hundreds of rooms, in this palace. Every room was differently coloured, and artistically furnished in colours to match. The carpets, chandeliers, chairs and sofas, divans together with their coverings, even the punkhas and the curtains, were of the same colour as the ceiling and the walls of their respective rooms. **The Taj Mahal Palace.**

The doors were painted of similar colour as the rooms in which they opened.

The "Benazir" buildings contain "Savan Bhadon," which provided splendid amusement during the rainy season to the many occupants of the Palace. **The Benazir Buildings.**

Attached to it is a garden built in two terraces, known as the "Alimanzil gardens." The upper terrace contains a building of 64 arches, and has a large space of open ground most beautifully laid out in front of it. On **Alimanzil.**

one side is a series of shops, built of wood, in which Her Highness used to hold a "Bazar." The lower terrace contains an orchard. A large open and raised space on its eastern side faces the big tank which lies between "Alimanzil" and the "Taj-ul-Masajid." The orchard had a pucca fern house covered with vine creepers. Within the fern-house was a gallery, surmounted by a raised dais. A winding staircase brought the visitor to this dais, commanding a full view of the garden and the fountains.

Parween Bazar.

Outside the "Alimanzil," towards the west, Her Highness built a pucca bazar for ladies, naming it the "Parween Bazar."

Idgah.

Behind the "Parween Bazar," on the top of a hill, she built a spacious "Idgah," with a portion reserved and walled in, for the special use of Purdah ladies during public prayers on both the Id days, in the year.

Shahjehanabad.

Beyond the city wall, towards the north of the city, men were induced and encouraged to migrate to the newly built portion known as Shahjehanabad, where the Taj Mahal was situated. Her Highness



The Be-Nazir Palace.

(Page 8?)

made them free gifts of land, and in many cases even advanced the people money to build houses. Thus, quite a large part of the locality came to be inhabited.

Round about the Taj Mahal are the localities known as "Nawab Manzil," "Baramahal," "Amirganj," "Kaisarganj," "Moghalpura" and "Khawaspura". The houses in these localities are laid out on a uniform plan, to meet the requirements of all classes of people, from the members of the ruling family down to people in ordinary walks of life.

Beyond Shahjehanabad, at the extreme north end of the city, the splendid lines of the "Victoria Lancers" were built. A row of shops of the local bazar links the Lines with Shahjehanabad, but the barracks of her Body Guard were situated inside the Shahjehanabad wall.

The Taj-ul-Masajid.

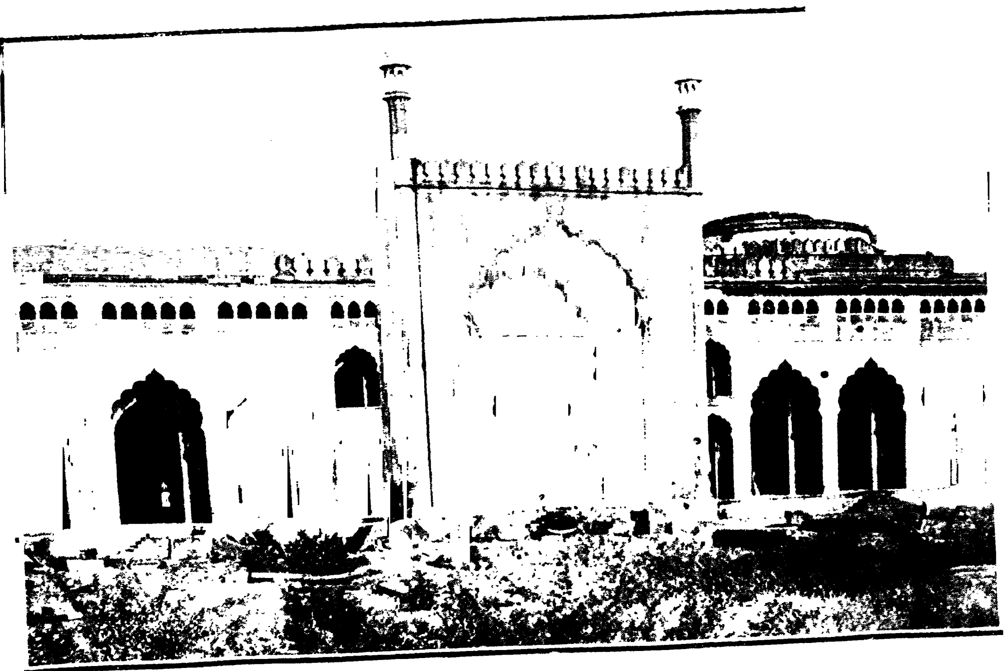
Nearly all the Rulers of Bhopal had built mosques during their respective reigns as acts of piety, but Nawab Shahjehan Begum eclipsed their combined achievements in this line, not only by the large number of

mosques she built, but also in the magnificence and beauty of their architecture. Among these, the largest, loftiest and the best is the one known as the "Taj-ul-Masajid," built on the design of the great "Jumma Masjid" of the Emperor Shahjehan, at Delhi. This un-mosque bears eloquent tribute to the grandeur of her architectural plans as also to her piety and religious fervour. She did not live long enough to see her mosque completed.*

Noor Mahal. Opposite the "Taj-ul-Masajid" is another group of building known as "Noor Mahal," which was meant for Nawab Siddiq Hasan's residence. It is situated to the east of Taj Mahal. A road runs from the Taj Mahal to the Noor Mahal. This road is flanked by two big tanks, one lying on a lower level to the north of Noor Mahal; the other tank is on a higher level between Taj-ul-Masajid and Alimanzil.

Jehangirabad. To the extreme east of the city, and bordering the Railway line, were situated the different factories and industrial homes located in Jehangirabad, which was populated

* (For measurement of Taj-ul-Masajid, see *Appendix No. XV.*)



The Tajul Masajid Bhopal.

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by, and named after. Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan. Near it, on a hill, is situated the newly erected Central Jail. At the foot of this hill lies the parade ground, and on the other side of the road is the Guest House. Only a few furlongs further south, Her Highness built the "Lal Kothi." This Kothi, with its extensive and well-laid out garden, is one of the best built sites in Bhopal, and has housed several Viceroys, Agents to the Governor-General, and other exalted friends and guests of Her Highness.

New Buildings in the Mofussil.

In the mofussil all the Tahsils and Thanas were built or repaired. The old palaces of Raisen (District East), Ashta (District West) and Bairasia (District North) were utilized as offices for the respective Nizamats. The palace at Gauharganj (District South) was very small in size and quite incapable of accommodating the office of the Nizamat. A separate building was therefore built for that high official, his office, as well as his court of justice.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS.

The spread of general education in Bhopal had already begun in the days of the

late Nawab Secunder Begum. My mother, realizing the great importance of extending the blessings of education to her own relatives, as well as to the people, spent large amounts to further the cause of education in her State.

For the peculiar demands of the Jagirdars, a special school was opened and she personally induced the younger generation of her relatives, and the sons of Jagirdars to join the School. Nawab Secunder Begum had established the "Madrasa-i-Sulaimania," in memory of Nawab Sulaiman Jehan Begum. My mother greatly improved the School by creating separate classes for teaching Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Hindi; and classes were opened to give instruction in the English language also. Her Highness presented an excellent library to this Institution. Education in English was gradually encouraged, until the school rose to the status of a High School, and was finally affiliated to the University of Calcutta, in 1892.

The Madrasa-i-"Bilqisia."

In memory of her grand daughter, Bilquees Jehan Begum, Her Highness opened

the "Madrasa Bilqeesia," for the upbringing of the orphans found in many parts of the State.

The Madrasa-i-"Jehangiria."

For the special encouragement of oriental languages Her Highness established the Madrasa "Jehangiria," in memory of her father the late Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan. Students from distant places used to join this school, and received scholarships and stipends from Her Highness.

Arabic School.

The late Moulvi Jamaluddin Khan had founded the Arabic School at Bhopal at his own expense, in honour of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to this country. On the death of its Founder the school was on the point of being closed, when Her Highness's generous purse and her love of education, came to its rescue, and saved it from an untimely extinction.

"The Prince of Wales" Technical School.

Her Highness opened a Technical and Industrial School and called it the "Prince of Wales School." Here the pupils were taught rug, carpet and "niwar" weaving, tent making, knitting of socks, lace works and also silver and gold electro-plating.

Female Education: The Victoria School.

Her Highness was equally interested in female education. The Victoria School, established by Nawab Secunder Begum was working satisfactorily. Her Highness opened another school for girls and raised them both to a high standard of efficiency. In these schools girls were taught gold and silver lace making, gold and silver thread embroidery, in fact all kinds of Indian needle work, also the preparing of gold embroidered caps, slippers and shawl work.

Mofussil Schools.

The schools in the mofussil did not escape Her Highness's attention. A regular curriculum was drawn up and prescribed for them. Teachers of Urdu and Hindi were appointed and a responsible officer was made to supervise their work.

When Her Highness issued a Circular that no person without a School or College Certificate should be employed in her State, such a certificate became a necessity for every candidate for appointment in her government offices.

She appointed a Committee of Examiners who used to conduct School examinations twice a year. The Annual examination used

to be conducted in her presence and prizes were awarded to successful candidates. Scholarships were granted most liberally and the poorer students were fed, and even clothed, by Her Highness. An examination was held annually in the industrial schools also, to gauge the standard of efficiency and progress attained by these scholars. Her Highness used to personally inspect the articles prepared by the students.

For many years all the schools remained under Her Highness's direct control and supervision. But a time came when their supervision was transferred to the Vezir. Later on, a committee was appointed for the special purpose of inspecting the schools. The Department of Education worked under this Committee.

Printing Press and News Paper.

In order to encourage and promote education Her Highness spent a large amount on the improvement of the State Printing Press, and also established a separate Press in her own name, for printing and publishing educational and literary books. The "Umdat-ul-Akhbar" besides serving as the State Gazette, gave

selections from English News-Papers, and published local news. It also published original articles on Oriental Literature and poems of real literary merit. The holy Quran was also printed in this press with the greatest possible care and attention; and it has been generally acknowledged by Arabic scholars that this edition of the Quran does not contain a single mistake, even of a dot or a vowel mark in print. No other press till then had succeeded in printing the holy Quran with greater accuracy and correctness. Many books on Arabic literature and jurisprudence were also printed here with extreme carefulness, and their general get-up reflected credit on the department concerned.

Religious Affairs.

Her Highness established a new department to look after the religious needs and requirements of her subjects. She spent several lakhs of rupees in re-erecting several mosques in the city, besides building new stone ones. An imam, a "muezzin," and a servant to keep the premises neat and tidy, were engaged for every mosque. These men

were made responsible for all arrangements regarding the regular performance of daily prayers in their respective mosques. Lamps were provided for lighting these mosques at night time, carpets were also supplied to each mosque; even firewood was stored in each mosque to supply the congregation with hot water for their ceremonial ablutions during winter. In certain mosques in the city a separate imam and a "muezzin" were appointed for each prayer time. An officer called the "Muhtmim-i-Masajid" with a suitable staff, was appointed to see that Her Highness's orders were satisfactorily carried out in every mosque. During the month of Ramzan arrangements were made for the early night ("taravih") Prayers and for reciting the Holy Quran. People who recited the entire Quran by heart, and their respective congregations, were awarded suitable presents; and were also given sweetmeats and food. Moreover, the State took upon itself to defray any other expenses that were necessary for the requirements of the mosques.

Alms Houses. Two departments, under the official designation of "Sadabarat" and "Masarif," were opened for the special purpose of helping poor and needy travellers. The "Sadabarat," intended for Hindus, not only distributed them free rations daily, but also supplied them money for travelling, and their food expenses on their journey. The "masarif," on the other hand, gave stipends and allowances to Mahomedan widows, decrepit old persons, and those who were in any way incapacitated from earning their own livelihood.

Religious Toleration. Her Highness's reign was conspicuous for the grant of religious toleration throughout her State, although many Indian States even in our own days, hesitate to allow so much freedom to their subjects.

Bhopal Bourbons. For generations past a family of French Christians had settled in Bhopal. Their ancestors had rendered, in their time, valuable and meritorious services to the State and had received large Jagirs—in return; later, owing to infinitesimal division of the ancestral property among the growing members, as well as from a general lack of education

among the scions, some of these were reduced to great poverty. Her Highness generously appointed such among them as could do any sort of work to certain posts in the State; while others who were either absolutely worthless, or in any way physically incapacitated, received assistance from the Department of Pensions.

In the days of Nawab Secunder Begum the State used to distribute some monthly stipends to deserving people in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. My mother increased the number of these stipends to such an extent that a separate department had to be created here for its management. She began to spend enormous amounts of money every year in giving intending pilgrims their travelling expenses, to and from Mecca, or Medina. Ultimately she used to fit out a yearly caravan of pilgrims to the Hedjaz, at State expense. In the hope of obtaining God's blessings, and warding off calamities from her State, Her Highness established a "Khatam Khana" (a home for reading the Quran) for which a number of professional reciters of the holy Quran were engaged, with

Sending out Pilgrim Caravans to Mecca.

the sole object of reading through the holy book, at fixed hours, and also reciting the holy traditions of the Prophet. So generously did she meet the religious requirements of her people. Truly, her subjects have great reason to pray for the welfare of her soul.

MISCELLANEOUS REFORMS.

Abolition of certain taxes.

The late Nawab Secunder Begum had imposed a tax on the citizens of Bhopal to realize the expenses of lighting the town and repairing its roads. Nawab Shahjehan Begum abolished this tax altogether, and ordered the total cost to be met from the State revenues. Her Highness also increased the number of street lamps and lighted up the smaller lanes and alleys of the town, which had so far remained in total darkness, after dusk. The expenses incurred were met from the State Treasury.

Laws Regulating Leave.

Laws were brought into force relating to leave granted to State servants. Even prisoners serving their respective terms in jail were thoughtfully given the benefit of these rules. No work was taken from them on Fridays.

Formerly, among the big merchants of Bhopal, the ruinous custom of speculating in cotton and grain was very rife, and Nawab Secunder Begum had put a stop to it. But speculating in opium continued down to the days of Nawab Shahjehan Begum. Realizing its harmfulness, she took strong measures to put a stop to this sort of ruinous speculation. **Ruinous speculations prohibited.**

The result of systematically carrying out the many reforms and improvements, noted in this chapter, was the permanent establishment, in only a few years, of a reign of law and justice in her State.

CHAPTER IV.

MY MOTHER'S MINISTERS.

Nawab Secunder Begum had distributed the duties of the Vizier (or the Naib-Ur-Ryasat) over two Officers: the Madar-ul-Muham and Mutamid-ul-Muham; and had reserved to herself the supervision and general control of their work. This working found favour with Nawab Shahjehan Begum, who let it stand, and except for slight changes here and there, she abstained from introducing any violent change in the administration of the State.

The following used to be the duties of these two high State Officials:—

(A) *Duties of Madar-ul-Muham*:—

(*a*) *Original Side.*—Hearing of the Revenue, Civil and Criminal cases beyond the power and jurisdiction of the Nazims.

(*b*) *Appellate Side.*—Hearing of appeals against the decision of the Nazims.

(*c*) General supervision of the work of the various offices and departments of the State.

(*d*) Giving legal advice to the Ruler in all cases before Her Highness, for her final orders.

(*e*) Administrative and executive work pertaining to the Vizier's own department; also appointment of suitable candidates with the sanction of Her Highness.

(*f*) Checking and supervision of the items of the Income Ledger of the State.

(B) *Duties of the Mutamid-ul-Muham* —

(*a*) Collection of land revenue, auditing of income and expenditure, and preparation of the State Budget.

(*b*) Supervising the realization of the arrears of land revenue.

(*c*) Payment of monies outstanding against the State Treasury.

(*d*) Arrangement about settlement operations.

(*e*) Investigation of claims of the heirs to various Jagirs.

(*f*) Alteration and amendment in the rules about the collection of Customs dues and granting of

exemptions as entered in the customs duty schedule.

(*g*) Preparations of daily, weekly and annual expenditure of the whole State.

(*h*) Inspection of Revenue, Civil and Criminal Departments of the city proper (Bhopal).

(*i*) Investigation of cases regarding embezzlement of land revenue.

(*j*) Conducting and deciding of cases pertaining to the Jagirs.

(*k*) Alteration and amendment in the Rules and Regulations of the State; the preparation of important financial schemes and other schedules.

(*l*) Supervision of the destruction of old records.

Raja Kishan Ram and Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan: Ministers.

It was Her Highness's good fortune that at the time of her accession these two responsible posts were occupied by two such able officers as Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan and Raja Kishan Ram. All their efforts and abilities were directed towards the betterment of the State. Both of them were

the most trusted servants of the late Ruler and loyal to the core.

Raja Kishan Ram died a year after the accession of my mother. On the Raja's demise the post was offered to Moulvi Siddiq Hasan, through the efforts of Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan. As he was the son-in-law of his patron, the Madar-ul-Muham, and a very capable, ambitious young man, possessed of great mental resources, he assumed control, in a very short time, over the whole administration of the State, Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan remaining Madar-ul-Muham only in name. When Her Highness married Moulvi Siddiq Hasan, his position in the State became still more important; and although, as Nawab consort, he was shortly relieved of his duties as Mutamid-ul-Muham, the administration of the State practically remained in his hands. Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan Bahadur died on the 20th December 1881 (Muharram 1219 A.H.). His nobility of mind, honesty of purpose and devotion to the Ruler and her State have become proverbial. Just as the name of Secunder Begum will always be remembered as the most renowned of the

Rulers of Bhopal, the name of Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan will ever be associated with the highest respect and honour among the Viziers of this State. But with all this, it must be said that his efforts to raise Moulvi Siddiq Hasan high in position and dignity, will always form a chapter of sad memories in the life history of this Vizier; though I am fully persuaded that whatever he did was done with the best of intentions; and I also believe that he never thought that furthering the cause of his relative would lead to such unhappy developments in the future, as it actually did.

Moulvi Mohammad Mobin.

After Moulvi Jamal-ud-din Khan, Moulvi Mohammad Mobin was appointed Vizier, at the recommendation of Moulvi Siddiq Hasan, but he was very soon dismissed, having incurred the displeasure of the all powerful Nawab consort.

Moulvi Ahmad Raza Khan.

Moulvi Mohammad Mobin was succeeded by Moulvi Ahmad Raza Khan. It was a good selection, and the new Minister had begun to perform his duties with great zeal, ability and conscientiousness, when there occurred a disagreement between him and the Nawab-

consort, which soon developed into open and active opposition, and finally came to a head in their bitter enmity. At last, in spite of the active support of Sir Leppel Griffin, he was compelled to resign.

On his departure from Bhopal the Government of India interposed in the internal administration of the State (according to article IV of the Treaty signed between the Governor-General and the State); and an able and responsible Madar-ul-Muham was eventually selected for Bhopal.

Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan.

The interference of the Supreme Government happened in this wise: Her Highness had begun ruling very well and had won golden opinions about her rule from Her Majesty the Queen Empress and the highest officials of the land; but after her second marriage, with Moulvi Siddiq Hasan, she began to lose the personal interest she used to take in her work; so the Moulvi obtained complete control over all important State affairs. In the beginning of his service he rendered very valuable assistance to Her Highness, who, in return, reposed the utmost confidence in him. Thus, he rose

in honour and dignity day by day. Seeing the regard paid, and the confidence reposed in him, by Her Highness, the Officers of the Political Department were obliged to tolerate his taking part in State affairs. Important political matters began to be settled through him. In time, he rose to such power and eminence that he began to assume airs of an independent Ruler. Appointments and removals of officers were in his hands, and the entire governance of the State depended on his whims and fancies. This led to grave and serious troubles. At last, the whole population, and the officers of the State, got disgusted and tired of his misrule. Complaints against him began to be submitted, to the Political Agent in Bhopal, and also to the Hon. Agent to the Governor-General, at Indore; but these complaints proved ineffective, because of the powerful support Her Highness gave to her husband. It was during this period that the Nawab Sahib received, at the hands of the Supreme Government, the high honour of a salute and official reception, and the honour of his visits being returned



Nawab Sidiq Hasan Khan.

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at the Imperial Assemblage, and he was also granted an Imperial decoration. On his return to Bhopal the Nawab gave princely banquets, in honour of the dignities conferred upon him, to the Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India and to the Agent at Sehore, and to his other European friends, at which lengthy post-prandial speeches were delivered, eulogizing the personal qualifications of the Nawab, and his great love of learning. After this banquet, a durbar was held in which a speech was read out, on behalf of the Ruler, dilating upon the hardships of the days of Nawab Secunder Begum as contrasted with her own spacious days. It further went on to say: "it has come to our notice that many of our relatives and servants and Jagirdars and dependants of this State who had always been accustomed to harsh treatment and oppression in the past have, instead of showing gratitude for the kindness done to them by us, complained against the State without the slightest justification. We are also cognisant of the fact that every one (whether a servant of the State or a relative of the Ruler)

has now got the audacity to create mischief and to dislocate the administrative machinery of the State and thus bring a bad name on the Ruler. This has been carried so far that secret meetings and conclaves are held in certain places and houses; people seem to be engaged in spreading false rumours and tales, and to give undue publicity to unfounded and baseless grievances. The many false stories carried to the Agencies at Sehore and Indore and even to Allahabad and Calcutta against me, and the Nawab Sahib are an open secret. Anonymous applications and petitions bearing assumed and false names, have also been submitted in these quarters against us. Many of these applications and papers will be found in the offices of the State. No stone has been left unturned by these miscreants, to excite the anger and displeasure of the high officials of the Supreme Government. The British Post Office has delivered to me hundreds of letters describing the Nawab Sahib as a tyrant, and a miser, and threatening him with sudden death. But by the grace of God the Protector, no sword could ever be drawn against him, no

high official ever got displeased with him. Witchcraft and sorceries have not touched a hair of his head. Nor was any person successful in poisoning him, but on the contrary, against the hopes of his enemies, and the expectations of mischief-mongers, the Nawab Sahib, who has not done a single act of misgovernment, tyranny or even injustice, has returned crowned with fresh laurels from the British Government. At the last Imperial Assemblage at Delhi a salute of seventeen guns was gazetted as a personal distinction for him; he has also received an Imperial decoration. His Excellency the Governor-General, on the occasion of a visit to him, showed him the utmost politeness and kindness and expressed his gratitude personally to the Nawab Sahib, for his gift of books." The speech referred to many other topics, in a similar strain. It also contained much praise of, and paid a high tribute to, the existing régime. It ended with a general warning to the public, to abstain from such practices in future.

After this durbar, the behaviour of the Nawab Sahib struck terror into the

hearts of men; and he began to take revenge upon his enemies. Finally, his acts of cruelty could no more be overlooked by the Agency, and the Agent to the Governor-General. Petitions of aggrieved parties began to be considered afresh by the Political Officials, and favourably too, with the attention they deserved.

The Nawab Sahib was also fond of writing and publishing books, of which he had written and edited quite a large number. Some of his publications on "Jehad" were considered seditious and anti-British in character by the Government of India; while other publications of his were supposed to contain impolite remarks against, and adverse criticism of, the reigning family. At one time, notice was taken of these publications and the Nawab Sahib was warned not to publish such books in future; and informed of the evil consequences of such publications to himself. But he failed to take any notice of these warnings and went on with the publication of his books. At last, matters came to a head in 1881. Political Officers began seriously to doubt

his loyalty. Sir Leppel Griffin, the then Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, instituted a personal inquiry into all the Actions of the Nawab Sahib; and finally the Government of H. E. Lord Dufferin, sent a despatch to the Secretary of State, recommending that the Nawab be deprived of his title and salute and debarred from interfering in the affairs of the State. The Secretary of State issued orders, in terms of the Governor-General's despatch and these were read out by Sir Leppel Griffin, in an open durbar, held in Bhopal.*

For some time, after the receipt of these orders, the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, with the assistance of the Political Agent, carried on the administration of the State and tried to bring order out of chaos. When things became normal, and Her Highness once more began to take the same old keen interest in the affairs of her State which she had done in the earlier days of her rule, the interference on the part of the Supreme Government was removed. The Government now insisted on the appointment

* See Appendix No. 16.

of a responsible and able minister.

Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif Khan, C.I.E.

Finally, on the advice of the Government of India, Nawab Bahadur Abdul Latif Khan, C.I.E., was appointed Vizier. He carried out very useful reforms in the departments of Law and Justice and asked the Supreme Government to lend the services of an able and experienced officer to take charge of the Revenue Department. The new Vizier also took in hand the preparation of a regular budget for the entire State. He had also thought of carrying out many useful reforms; but it is a pity that he was not granted opportunity to put his various schemes of reform into action, not even his best ones. It was Her Highness's wish at this time to borrow the services of a European instead of an Indian Officer. Influenced by her husband, Her Highness had her own idea about this. She proposed the name of Mr. Brook, the then Deputy Commissioner of Khandwa, but the Government of India appointed Col. C. H. Ward as Minister.

Col. C. H. Ward.

Within three or four months of his nomination the Colonel took charge of the Vizier's post. Colonel Ward was a noble,

dignified, hard working and peace-loving gentleman, of statesmanlike qualities. He began his work with great ability, cautiousness, diligence and alert cleverness. His tenure of office witnessed the promulgation of Forest Laws. Useful improvements were carried out in the general administration, specially in the Revenue Department, of the State. The judicial system was put on a sound basis. Improvements were effected in the Police Department; and so far as was humanly possible, the best available men were appointed to the subordinate offices in the State. Soon after, there was a perceptible decline in the commission of serious crimes in the State. In all that the Colonel did, he ever put before his eyes the benefit of the State and its people. He always paid great attention to the grievances and requirements of ryots; and was ever obedient to the wishes of Her Highness; and did all in his power to advance her welfare. The good results of his hard work and statesmanship would soon have been openly acknowledged by all persons, competent to judge his work, but as the hopes and

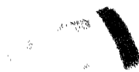
expectations which Moulvi Siddiq Hasan had placed in the appointment of a European did not fructify, Colonel Ward was also compelled to leave Bhopal.

Munshi Imtiaz Ali Khan.

Munshi Imtiaz Ali was now made Vizier in 1888. He took charge of this responsible office when great improvements had already been made in the State, and high hopes were entertained of its future. But it does not require any special mention from me how every thing went from bad to worse during the tenure of Munshi Imtiaz Ali's office. According to the existing constitution, which governed the appointment of a Minister, it was incumbent on the Ruler to place the utmost confidence and reliance upon him and now that the Vizier had been selected and appointed with Her Highness's entire approval, there was no reason at all why complete confidence should not be reposed in him. Her Highness did so, and left every thing in the hands of her Vizier, even to such an extent that the departments which were under Her Highness's direct control were also transferred under him. But the Vizier took a very mean







Colonel C. I. H. Ward.

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advantage of the trust his noble queen had placed in him. He filled all the high and low offices with his own partisans and creatures. There was no office or department which was free from the Minister's evil influence. The three or four officers who had escaped being enveloped in the tentacles of the Vizier were always treated with studied insult and contumely, and were in daily danger of being transferred elsewhere from their office, or dismissed the service.

Moreover, the clients and the creatures of the Vizier stood in no danger of being required to answer any uncomfortable question from, or submit any explanations of their misdeeds to, any superior officer. To crown all, they did not consider themselves answerable to any body for their malpractices! In those days, it became impossible for the oppressed or the aggrieved people ever to approach the Vizier with their tales of sorrow and list of grievances; and if, by great good luck, some oppressed one did succeed anyhow to approach the Vizier, the complainant himself was generally treated as the oppressor of the poor and received undeserved and

unjust punishments! How could justice be done to the oppressed people when the administration was in the hands of such a wolfish shephred? If a complaint was ever carried direct to Her Highness she used to forward the papers, in the ordinary course of business, to the Vizier, for his report. As a rule, the report from the Vizier's office went against the complainants. Men belonging to the personal staff of Her Highness, of whatever position, were, one and all, under the Vizier's obligation; and thus became abettors of the Vizier's misdeeds. If there was some body who did not belong to the Vizier's party, or had a grudge against him, he dared not risk his open opposition. Interested parties always used to relate, with great cleverness and effect, false stories of the Vizier's great love of justice and of his honesty and integrity. To such a low level administration had fallen during Munshi Imtiaz Ali Khan's tenure of office in Bhopal. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Her Highness to form any correct opinion of the state of affairs, adverse to the interests of the Vizier. Matters went on in this highly

undesirable manner for six or seven years. But things could not go on like this for ever. At last a day came when the ill effects of the Vizier's mal-administration became too patent to be disguised any longer. Even then, the Vizier carried out his efforts successfully to mislead and deceive Her Highness for a time. But the true state of affairs finally began to come to Her Highness's notice through unimpeachable sources. Her Highness thereupon changed her too confiding opinion about her Vizier, and finally having been thoroughly disillusioned about him, began to think of him as the greatest enemy the State ever had.

But as Her Highness possessed an extraordinary amount of patience, and her habit of overlooking and condoning people's faults and mistakes had exceeded all bounds, she did not allow any official step to be taken of her Vizier's manifold misdeeds at that time. Nevertheless, she decided in her own mind, to remove him from his responsible post. I am informed, through reliable sources, that intimation of Her Highness's wishes was also given to the Supreme

Government about the proposed dismissal of the Vizier. But before any official step could be taken the man died of dropsy on the 10th Jamadi-ul-Auval 1314 A. H. (the 16th November).

Moulvi Abdul Jabbar Khan, C.I.E.

Moulvi Abdul Jabbar Khan, C.I.E., who had just retired on pension, from his post in the Bengal Civil Service, was appointed Vizier on the death of Munshi Imtiaz Ali, and took charge of his high office on the 3rd Ziqad 1314 A.H. (the 16th April 1897).

CHAPTER V.

Her Highness Reassumes Control of Affairs. Her Loyalty to the British Government.

The loyalty and devotion of the Rulers of Bhopal towards the British Government, from the very beginning of its connection with this State, has ever been well known. Renowned Indian statesmen and high Political Officers have always held up Bhopal as a model for other States to imitate. The generous manner in which the sentiment of loyalty and attachment on the part of Nawab Secunder Begum and Nawab Shahjehan Begum have been specially recognised by Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress, and the Royal favours bestowed on these Begums, will always be remembered with pride and gratitude in Bhopal. Here is one instance of Nawab Shahjehan Begum's loyalty to the British throne.

The proposed visit of His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh to Bhopal.

Although Her Highness had been honoured by being introduced to His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh in Calcutta, still it was her great desire to entertain the Royal Prince as her guest in Bhopal, and thus derive the proud privilege and distinction of becoming his host. When on his way back to Europe, His Royal Highness stopped at Hoshangabad, for "shikar," the Begam requested him to grace Bhopal with his visit, but as the programme of his departure had already been fixed, there was very little time at his disposal to accede to her wishes. My mother therefore contented herself with sending His Royal Highness a few specimens of Bhopal industries, and some pieces of embroidery—being her own and my needle work—as presents, accompanied by a letter requesting the Prince to oblige her by accepting them. His Royal Highness most graciously accepted the small presents, and on reaching London, sent a letter of appreciation, with some costly presents, out of royal favour and graciousness to Her Highness, through the Government of India.*

* See Appendix No. 17.

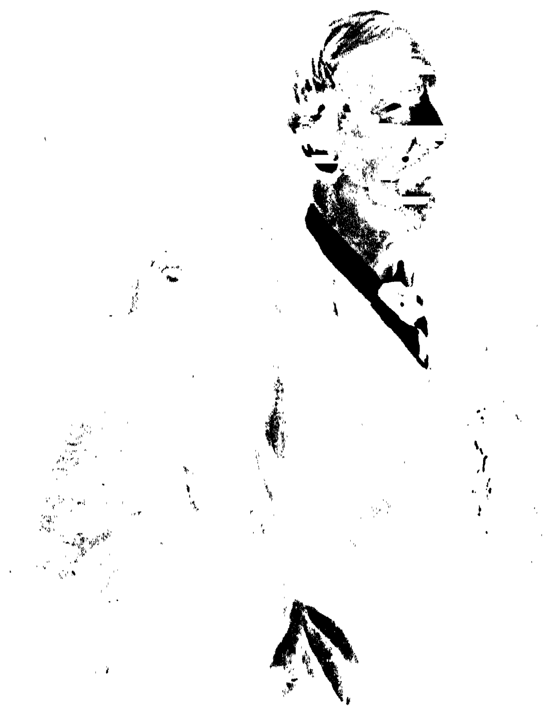
Her Highness's efforts at internal Reform warmly appreciated.

That there had been a continous flow of warm and appreciative tribute from Her Majesty the Queen-Empress, the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, and one Viceroy after another, to my mother's high administrative qualities extracts from many a "Kharita" will easily bear me out. For the sake of brevity only a few of these have been reproduced in the appendices. These will be found very interesting reading, as showing the then condition of Bhopal, and my mother's strenuous efforts at reform.*

As a result of seeking the good of her people and her loyalty to the British throne, Her Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress was pleased to confer the title of G.C.S.I. on Her Highness in 1872; the Kaisar-i-Hind medal in 1877, and the decoration of Crown of India, in 1878. Till 1880 Bhopal State remained on the good books of the Government of India; but by this time Nawab Siddiq Hasan had gained complete control of affairs in the State and the evil consequence of the Nawab's interference did not manifest themselves for a time. When they

* See Appendices Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 (*vide* p. 294-298).

did, they naturally brought in their wake the control and supervision of the Government of India over the administration of the State, as has been previously related. There is not the slightest doubt that the chief cause of mal-administration in the State, which, after all, was temporary, was the great confidence and profound trust Her Highness reposed in her husband, and the complete freedom she gave him to do what he liked. Only in the most important cases did she occasionally express her opinion. As a rule, however, during the whole of this period of eclipse, Her Highness affixed her signatures to only such State documents as legally required her signature and seal. She spent all her time in pursuits which were more or less of special interest to her own sex. Nevertheless, when the State was given a serious warning, and *Her Highness threw off the Nawab's baleful influence, and re-assumed control of affairs, things brightened up*. The happy result of this change began to appear on all sides. His Excellency Lord Dufferin, who was forced, much against his will, to take over the affairs of Bhopal into



The Marquis of Dufferin and Ava.

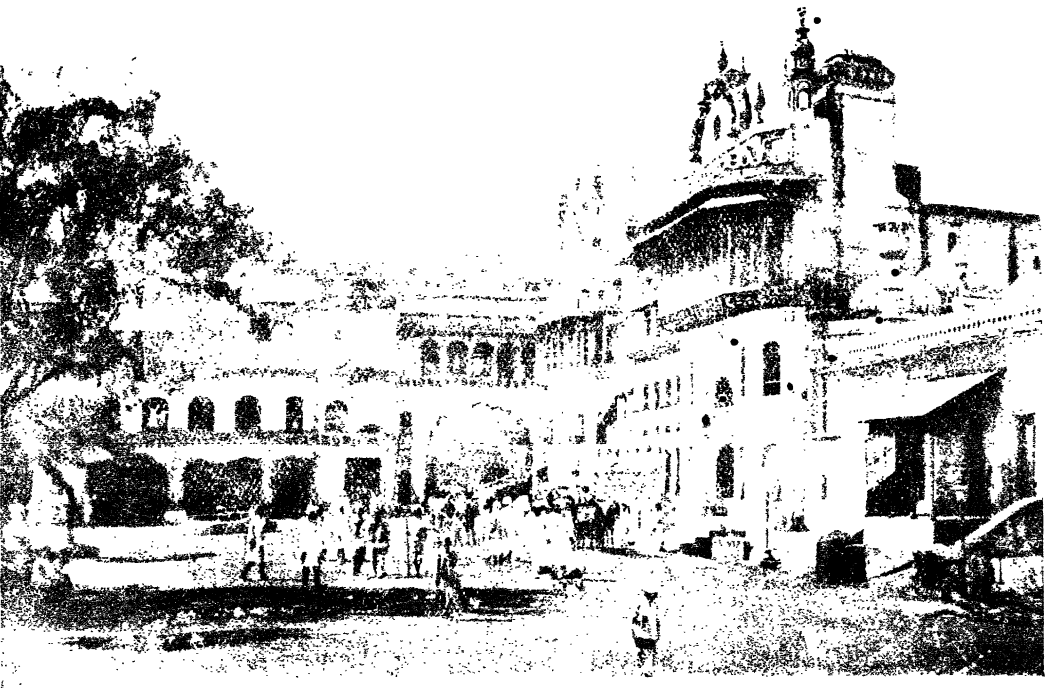
(*Page* 118)

his own hands, soon became thoroughly satisfied with the abilities and hard work of Her Highness in removing all cause of complaint, directly she assumed control of work in her own hands. In a letter, dated the 17th November 1885, expressing his great pleasure and happiness at the excellent manner his advice and direction had been adopted and carried out, His Excellency wrote: "*I am fully aware of the unfailing loyalty which your Highness and your House have constantly shown towards the British Government, not only in days of peace alone, but also in times of great trouble.* I was most painfully compelled, against my personal inclinations, to adopt the course of action which I did in relation to the unhappy affairs of Bhopal. *I have now no intention to interfere in the administration of your State.* I have the fullest confidence in your great ideal, and in your political sagacity. . . . "

Sir Leppel Griffin's tribute to the Begum's work.

Sir Leppel Griffin held a durbar in the Shaukat Mahal at Bhopal, in 1866, to confer upon Bakhshi Hafiz Mohammad Hasan Khan, the order of C.I.E. On this occasion he

delivered a long speech on the administrative affairs of Bhopal, and wound up his speech by saying: "On a happy occasion, such as the present, I should not have referred to a subject, painful both to Her Highness and to myself, were it not that I wish to take this opportunity of proclaiming publicly *Her Highness' wise and courageous resolution to put down every evil that is brought to her notice*, and to introduce such reforms as will result in the permanent benefit of her subjects. She has appointed a Muhammadan gentleman, of distinguished ability and high reputation, to be the Minister of her State and has placed all the control of the departments of the State in his hands. *He will be subject to no outside interference*, but will deal in all matters directly with Her Highness. I am sure that when the people of Bhopal become acquainted with this reform, and its beneficial results, they will congratulate themselves on their good fortune, in living under the sway of a Ruler who is ever ready to hear a complaint, or to redress a wrong, the moment she becomes aware of its existence. *There is no State*



The Shokat Mahal.

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in India which Her Majesty the Queen and His Excellency the Viceroy regard with more friendly interest than the State of Bhopal, which whether in peace, or in adversity, has always remained the true friend of the British Government. This loyalty will be all the more appreciated when it becomes known how Her Highness the Begum has determined to legislate for the good of her people and to root out, once and for all, oppression and corruption from her territories. On behalf of His Excellency the Viceroy I beg to congratulate Her Highness on the wise course she has adopted and I trust her good fame will advance, step by step, with the happiness of her subjects and the prosperity of her State."

A Personal Appreciation.

Here follows an extract from a note prepared by Sir Leppel Griffin and reproduced in his book—"The Princes of India"—published in 1894. "But now," says Sir Leppel, "although behind the purdah, she is thoroughly posted in all the news of the day and *is without exception, the ablest and most remarkable princess to-day in India,* indeed for natural ability *there are few male*

rulers who could compare with her. In conversation she is full of quickness and repartee, and it requires a very clever person to get the better of her in argument. Of late years she has lost her health and cheerfulness, but in olden days she was full of fun and laughed merrily at any witticism."

A glowing tribute to Her Highness's Wisdom.

The Hon. Mr. Honoi visited Bhopal officially in January 1890. He was a very able, considerate and noble-minded gentleman. On the departure of Sir Leppel Griffin, he was put in charge of Central India Agency. He had the fullest confidence in Her Highness's abilities and always abstained most scrupulously from interfering in the internal affairs of the State. He brought to bear his consummate skill on the affairs of the different states, in his vast Agency. When he took charge of the Agency, Colonel Ward had just been relieved of his office, and Munshi Imtiaz Ali held the post of Vizier in Bhopal. He delivered a most wise and eloquent speech, in a State banquet, which was held on this occasion, on the 21st January. After paying

a glowing tribute to Her Highness's wisdom and great industry and the many reforms she had carried out, the Hon. Mr. Honoi made some very important suggestions for the better government of the State. The speech clearly establishes the fact that he was quite confident of the capacity of Her Highness in matters of administration and good government. In proposing Her Highness' health he said: " Her Highness the Nawab Begum of Bhopal is a scion of that noble and illustrious house which has been *famous for the loyalty and assistance it has ever rendered to the Imperial Government* in time of trouble and grave danger. Now that we are passing through comparatively peaceful times, there is no necessity for the offer of wealth and life in the defence of the Empire, still Her Highness continues to keep up the high reputation of her house in this respect. She is always most considerate and polite in her treatment of the Representatives of the Government of India, and has always shown the utmost kindness to the ladies and gentlemen who have had any official dealings with her. I have been connected with the Central India

Agency for about two years now, during which period there has never been a single instance of disagreement between the Nawab Begum and myself. Her Highness has been ever ready to accept any friendly advice offered to her, and more than that, she has most enthusiastically acted upon it. In fact occasions have arisen when there has been a serious danger of such advice turning into fussy interference in the internal affairs of the State. It has been the basic principle of my policy to induce the State officials to acquit themselves like men in their work, with full confidence in themselves, and not to seek help and advice from British officers in matters of detail, but to carry out such reforms, with the help of their own countrymen, which experience has shown them to be necessary and practicable for all local needs, and which do not militate against the old and established customs of the State. Her Highness has most energetically tried in this direction, with the help and assistance of her Madar-ul-Muham, but there still remains a good deal to be done especially in the matter of reduction in the

land revenue assessment, and the systematization and development of the Public Works Department, on proper lines." Continuing further the Hon. Mr. Honoi said "like every one else, Her Highness has had her share of trouble and difficulties. Troubles never come single; they have a tendency of descending on us *en masse*. Her Highness has been greatly upset over these troubles and worries, and it is incumbent on all of us gathered here to-night to extend our sympathies to her. I hope that during the course of the present year, which has just begun, the idea that her loyalty and devotion has been appreciated in proper quarters, may bring her some solace and comfort; as also the feeling that she has made all possible efforts for the betterment, comfort and happiness of her beloved subjects."

Services rendered to the Supreme Government munificently acknowledged.

Speeches delivered by different Viceroys, and Political Agents, at durbars and banquets, on more occasions than one, during their respective visits to Bhopal, are the most important documentary proofs for establishing Her Highness's claim to high statesmenship and great political wisdom. The devotion

and regard entertained by Her Highness for the Crown of England were based on old unshakeable foundations of firm personal conviction, which the ancient traditions of Bhopal had done not a little to strengthen still further. And although she got no opportunity to give practical demonstration of this sentiment in war, or in moments of danger, as her ancestors had done, there is no doubt that she kept herself ever ready for Imperial emergencies. She remained ever the enthusiastic and grateful friend of the British Empire. In 1878, when war was imminent with Russia, over the Panjdeh incident, and during the Afghan trouble of 1879, as also during the Soudan-Egyptian expedition, she expressed a great desire to assist the British Government. But as the Government did not then stand in need of any assistance, her offers of help were most gratefully declined. The Government of India, however, and also Her Majesty the Queen, showed their appreciation of sentiments of friendship, and in more than one way found opportunities to express their thanks to Her Highness. During

the South African Campaign of 1899 Her Highness came forward with her offer of help, but the Government accepted only a few horses, and for this the Queen sent an official letter of thanks to Her Highness. His Excellency Lord Curzon sent a Kharita on the subject and wrote:—

> "The warm appreciation, which your kind offer of a number of horses from the Victoria Lancers at the request of the Government of India evoked from Her Majesty the Queen Empress and her Government has been communicated to your Highness through Colonel Barr. I wish to add my own personal thanks to those that you have already received, and wish to assure you that *the Government of India knows full well that it can always rely on the steadfast and unflinching loyalty of your House.*"

During the tenure of office of the Hon. Colonel Barr, as Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, it was once feared that owing to some local political

complications and misunderstandings, the head-quarters of the Residency would be removed from Indore to some other State. The place selected by the Colonel was the devoted and loyal State of Bhopal. His Excellency Lord Elgin, made reference to it in his banquet speech at Bhopal, in these words :—

> "I hope that in the circumstances of the present day we shall never see our friend Colonel Barr forced to quit Indore ; but if he were, I have no doubt that, as a former Resident found, he would also find ready assistance from the Ruler of Bhopal."

It is true Her Highness never had an opportunity to translate her devotion to the British Crown into action by siding with the British Government in war, or on a battlefield, yet she gave ample proofs of her loyalty in many a peaceful way, under her hospitable roof, by giving sumptuous entertainments and princely banquets to her high European guests. The magnificent receptions given to her august and exalted guests, and the many feasts held on high

occasions in Bhopal were the results of this one over-powering desire of her life: somehow to show her loyalty to the Crown.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PASSING OF THE GREAT QUEEN.

All the Rulers of Indian States entertained special sentiments of affection and regard for Her Majesty the Queen, and looked upon her as a gracious and magnanimous Mother. But the loyal sentiment which swayed the heart of Her Highness was unique and unparalleled, because she belonged to the same sex as her August Sovereign. The Queen Empress graciously appreciated and acknowledged the Begum's loyalty. Many proofs of it will be found in the pages of this book. Her Highness always prided herself on the fact that she was born in the year the Queen ascended the throne of England, and it was during Her Majesty's long and glorious reign that Bhopal had risen in dignity and status, and there had been an appreciable addition in the Begum's territories.

On the 29th day of Ramzan, 1318 A.H. (January 21, 1901, A.D.) when the Vizier of the State informed Her Highness that a

telegram had been received from His Excellency the Viceroy containing the following mournful intelligence:

> "*Her Majesty is sinking fast.* All the members of the royal family have been summoned to her bed side,"

Her Highness, who had become well nigh weary of life, owing to her own prolonged illness, received the sad news with the deepest sorrow. The shock was unbearable to her. She immediately ordered the Kotwal to stop all music and beating of drums in the city. The next day was the festival of the "Id-ul-fit'r," a time for general rejoicing among Muhammadans. But on this occasion, gloom and sadness prevailed everywhere. After the "Id" prayers had been said, all the Muhammadans assembled in the Idgah, and in the mosques of the city, were asked to pray humbly and fervently to God that the Queen-Empress might be restored to health.

At 1 o'clock in the morning, a second telegram was received, stating that a slight improvement had taken place in Her Majesty's condition. Her Majesty had slept

and had taken some nourishment. Hope was rekindled by the news; but scarcely had there been time to make it public, when a a third telegram arrived 5 hours later, containing these sad words:

"*Her Majesty the Queen is dead.*"

The prayers, entreaties and wailings, of the whole world become absolutely useless when God orders the Angel of Death to fetch the soul of a human being back to his or her Creator. The person for whom the Order has been passed simply has to submit to it. There is no escape from Death. All the same, the passing away of such a mighty and powerful Sovereign, possessed of such great nobility and goodness, is enough to shake the hearts of the bravest of human beings. The Queen in her public and private life, was a Sovereign Lady full well respected and beloved of her subjects, whose good name will go down from generation to generation, and will be a shining ornament to the history of the world. The Queen's death not only profoundly affected the feelings of those who were Her Majesty's subjects but also of all those not owing allegiance to her, and of those who had



Queen Victoria. (*Page* 132)

any capacity to appreciate goodness and nobility in us mortals. The feelings evoked by the passing of the great good Queen cannot be adequately described by one who belongs to her own sex, and owes allegiance to her. Her Highness had spent her whole life under the fostering care of Her Majesty's Government and on this occasion, the Begum felt the same agony as at the passing of her own mother.

She ordered her Minister to send, on her behalf, the following message of deepest condolence to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General :

> "*Her Highness is greatly shocked at the terrible calamity which has befallen the Empire. She feels she has lost a mother, and is in inconsolable grief.*"

CHAPTER VII.

Ceremonial Functions and Viceregal visits.

The Imperial Durbar Banquet, February 1877.

It was Her Highness's intention to give a grand banquet at Delhi, in honour of the Imperial Durbar. But certain unavoidable circumstances stood in the way of carrying out her wishes. However, on her return, she issued orders for a magnificent feast to be held in Bhopal; and invited the Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General and the British Agent at Sehore, as also other European ladies and gentlemen of high rank, who travelled long distances to grace the feast with their presence. There was no State Railway in those days, so Her Highness took great pains to see that her guests, who had accepted her invitation, had no trouble in reaching Bhopal. At all points within the boundary of her State, from where her guests were expected to arrive, she posted carriages, and other means of conveyance, to bring her honoured guests safely to her

city. The Indian Staff of the Agency were also invited to attend. A gymkhana and military sports were held to entertain the guests, and the most magnificent fire-works were displayed in the Nishat Afza gardens for three consecutive nights. The Nishat Afza was the most beautifully and artistically laid out garden in Bhopal, and Her Highness had spared no pains to further augment its beauty by artificial decorations. Nawab Siddiq Hasan also entertained the guests at dinner one night.

Her Highness not only entertained her respected guests, in memory of the happy occasion, but to perpetuate it, she decided to add a new quarter to Shahjehanabad, giving it the name of Kaisarganj, as a memento of the title the Queen had added to her glorious name. The Hon. Sir Henry Daly, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, was requested to lay the foundation stone. There was great life and movement in Bhopal during those days, and Her Highness's guests enjoyed themselves thoroughly, visiting places of interest, and exchanging visits.

The speeches delivered by Her Highness and the Hon. the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India are reproduced below :—

The Banquet Speech of Her Highness.

In the speech delivered at the Banquet given on this occasion Her Highness said: The "festivities held in my capital and throughout this State, on the 1st January 1877, when the city was illuminated and its roads and streets were decorated, on which occasion the State spent large sums of money, and we went to Delhi to take part in the Durbar, held in honour of the assumption of the exalted title of the " Empress of India," by Her Majesty the Queen, had a special charm and happiness of their own. But the pleasure and delight felt to-day, owing to the presence here of the Hon. Sir Henry Daly, the Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, Colonel William Kincaid, the Political Agent in Bhopal, and other distinguished guests, who have honoured us by undergoing the fatigue of long journeys to join these festivities, are no less conducive to our happiness and deserving of our most grateful thanks. We hope that our honoured guests will extend to

us the same kindness in future as they have shown us in the past, by continuing to accept our invitations. *This will help to keep burning in our hearts the flame of loyalty and devotion to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India.*"

Sir Henry Daly replied in the following words :— **Sir H. Daly's Speech.**

"It gives me great pleasure to propose the health of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and her husband the Nawab Saheb. This banquet has been held in honour of the assumption of the title of "Empress of India" by the Queen. Nothing has pleased Her Highness more than the coming here of European ladies and gentlemen, her guests, from far and near. All that we wanted was supplied to us at a moment's notice, and the State officials were ever ready to supply our smallest needs and requirements. *As Agent to the Governor-General I have been a guest of many a Indian State, but nowhere have I enjoyed so rare and royal hospitality as here.* The originality and ingenuity displayed by Her Highness in organising these festivities have surprised us not a little. At every turn we met

with new ways of exciting our admiration and the guests have certainly received the most perfect hospitality. At this table we clearly see evidences of the loyalty and attachment of Her Highness's heart towards the Queen; and Her Highness has always felt the greatest happiness in giving this laudable sentiment its due prominence and significance. These banquets have always led to a strengthening of the friendship between the Durbar and the Supreme Government. *Her Highness has succeeded more than any other Ruler in India, in gaining the personal friendship and esteem of the Queen Empress.* The Queen was graciously pleased to signify her appreciation of the internal progress of the State under its present Ruler, while the Government of India, by conferring on the Nawab Saheb a personal salute of 17 guns, has given positive proof of the special regard and respect they entertained for Her Highness."

Durbar held to confer the "Crown of India" Decoration on Her Highness.

A public Durbar was held in the Shaukat Mahal, Bhopal, on the 12th of February 1878, to confer upon Her Highness the decoration of the Order of "Crown of India," Colonel

Kincaid, the Political Agent, was present on the occasion. He had brought a Kharita * from His Excellency the Viceroy, for the occasion. All the nobles and officials of the State were present. Presenting His Excellency Lord Lytton's letter (dated the first January 1878) to Her Highness, the Colonel delivered the following address :—

Col. Kinkaid's Speech

" Ladies and gentlemen,—It is a matter of great happiness and pleasure to me that I should have been selected to bring to Her Highness the Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, the Kharita sent by His Excellency the Governor-General and Viceroy of India, in which His Excellency communicates to Her Highness the happy news that Her Majesty the Queen Empress of India has been graciously pleased to institute a new Order called the " Crown of India." This decoration will be conferred on the Princesses of the Blood Royal, and other exalted Ladies. Having regard to the friendly relations existing between Her Majesty and your Highness, and in order to honour you with a special distinction, Her Majesty has

* See Appendix No. XXII.

been graciously pleased to confer on you this decoration. I think it is hardly necessary for me to speak to those assembled here of the sentiments of friendship and mutual regard existing between your Highness and Her Majesty the Queen, His Excellency the Viceroy and the Government of India. These sentiments have been expressed to you from time to time by responsible representatives of the British Government. *The loyalty and devotion of the Ruling family of Bhopal towards the Government of India, from the very beginning, have been as clear as day light*, and it must be a matter of great pride to your Highness that *on no battlefield have the armies of Bhopal been ranged against those of the British Government*. Moreover, it is not without a charm of its own, to once more repeat the fact that among all the past Rulers of your esteemed House none has shown such true loyalty and attachment to the British Government as did your august mother, the late Nawab Secunder Begum Saheba, the happy memory of having been presented to whom I have treasured in my heart to this day.

During the disturbed and critical days of the mutiny, when the insurgents overran this part of the country, the loyalty of many a ruling chief was shaken. *Not so the late Nawab Secunder Begum's loyalty. She alone, among Indian Rulers, stuck to her friendship with the British Government* most steadfastly and courageously. She kept the reins of her Government in her powerful hands, and most effectively quelled the disturbances. Not only did she save the lives of English Officers but she safe-guarded all the interests of the British Government, and *rendered invaluable help and assistance to the Government which is impossible to enumerate.*

Your Highness has most steadfastly followed in the footsteps of your august mother. British officers, posted in the neighbouring districts, are unanimous in their praise of the diligence and hard work with which the servants of the State perform their respective duties, to the mutual benefit of your State and the British Government. The large amount advanced by your Highness for the Railway lines is a distinct proof of your great concern for the welfare of your subjects.

Within three years Bhopal shall witness, I believe, the dawn of that prosperity and progress, the entire credit of which would redound to your Highness and the late Nawab Qudsia Begum. Your Highness has further spent a sum of Rs. 2,25,000 on building the road to Hoshangabad, and you are also spending Rs. 10,000 annually for the prevention of small-pox among your subjects. In short the crowded list of your Highness's benefactions is quite befitting the rank of a great Ruler, and is bound to augment the sentiment of Royal grace and favour, your Highness has so successfully attracted to your self."

Speech of Her Highness.

On the termination of this speech Her Highness got up and spoke as follows :—

"I humbly submit my grateful thanks to God Almighty Who, in return for the devotion of my whole State, and the old and traditional loyalty of my House and myself, has, in addition to the decoration of the Star of India, obtained for me another exalted decoration at the hand of Her Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India, which is a mark of peculiar honour to our sex, and such as is not shared by any male Ruler.

It has raised me to higher dignity than was ever enjoyed by my late mother. This new decoration has reached me by means of a letter of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General, sent through the Central India Agency at Indore, and brought here by Colonel William Kincaid, the Political Agent of Bhopal. Myself, my children and my relatives shall ever remain grateful for this appreciation of my services to the Supreme Government.

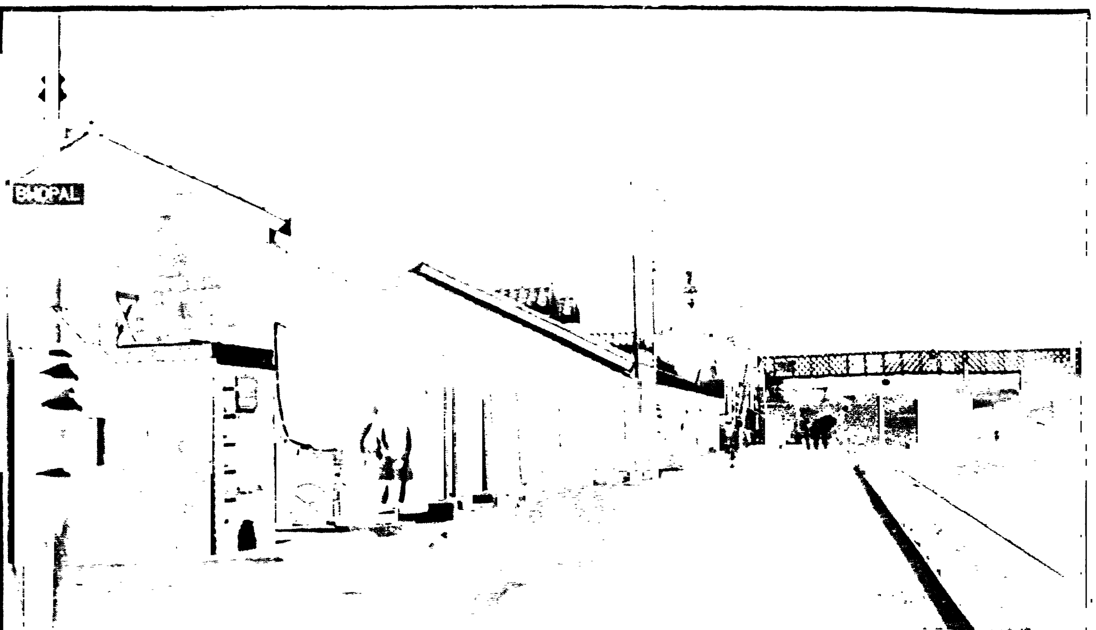
I hope that I, and the members of my family, will ever show submission to the will of the Exalted and Gracious Empress of India, so that our claims to recognition and honour may ever remain permanent and continuous."

On this happy occasion Her Highness released a number of prisoners, among whom some had been sentenced to penal servitude for life.

Four months after this event the Political Agent once more came to Bhopal and held another durbar, this time actually to hand over the Star of the Order of the Crown of India to Her Highness and its "Sanad" (Letters Patent), signed by the Queen. He

made a brief speech on this occasion paying well deserved tribute to Her Highness's loyalty, and offered the thanks of the Government of India for the kind help promised by Her Highness in the event of a war breaking out with Russia.

Opening of the Railway. The opening of the Bhopal-Itarsi section of the Railway line was performed with great pomp and ceremony on the 17th November 1884. The Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and many European ladies and gentlemen from the adjoining Provinces came to Bhopal, as Her Highness's guests. Great preparations were made to give a fitting reception to the Agent to the Governor-General. As his train was due in Bhopal after sunset, the road from the Railway station to the Lal Khothi was brilliantly illuminated. Triumphal arches, with suitable inscriptions of welcome, were erected at several places. The Infantry was posted at the southern, and the Cavalry at the western end, of the station. The State elephants were kept at some distance from the Infantry and Cavalry. The



Railway Station.

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artillery was parked opposite the Railway station. The goods-shed of the Station was used for the Durbar; and no effort was spared to make it look as beautiful and charming as human ingenuity could devise.

The hall was divided into three parts; one was occupied by the Agent to the Governor-General, the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and the European guests; Her Highness and her Staff sat in the central portion, with the Union Jack flying in front; while the third part was filled by the purdah ladies of her Court and others who had accompanied her.

At the fixed hour the Hon. Colonel Bannerman performed the ceremony of declaring the line open. He then walked up to Her Highness and offered her his congratulations. All the ladies present then assembled round Her Highness to offer her their congratulations. A royal salute of 31 guns was fired, after which Her Highness got up and addressed the assembly in the following words:—

Speech of Her Highness.

"Colonel Bannerman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I render a thousand thanks to Almighty

God that He has permitted the State of Bhopal and its Ruler, to enjoy peace and prosperity under the benign protection of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress of India, through the benevolence of whose rule the light of Western Science has shone on this land, and through whom and her wise statesmen, and her brave soldiers, sent out to govern and protect us, we are able to look back upon years of peace and progress: years that have transformed the wilderness of Hindustan into rich and fertile plains, vying in beauty with the gardens of Kashmere. When I think of the interest Her Majesty has always taken in the welfare of this State; or of the friendship which she displayed towards my august mother the late Nawab Secunder Begum, and her unfailing kindness to myself, words fail me to express my gratitude towards my Sovereign. Nor am I less grateful for the kind and courteous treatment I have always met with from successive Viceroys of India, their Agents in Central India, and the past and present Political Agents in Bhopal. To you, Colonel Bannerman, my special thanks are due. I thank you most heartily for your

congratulations on the completion of this Railway, and for your great kindness in coming here to-day to perform the opening ceremony. Really and truly it is to yourself, to Sir Henry Daly, and to Mr. Griffin, that our thanks are due and that congratulations should be paid to you three gentlemen on this memorable day, by whose advice this great work was undertaken, and under whose supervision it has been carried out. I am very grateful to Colonel Kincaid for the good advice he has given me, and to the Wallajah Amirulmulk Nawab Saheb for his constant help in all matters connected with the building of this line. Let all praise be given to God who has permitted us this day to see the realization of our hopes, and to taste the first fruits of our labours. I trust that the Bhopal State Railway will prove a great success and will lead to as big an increase in the revenues of the State as was predicted when its construction was first contemplated. I now look forward to the time when the Bhopal line will be connected with the Great Indian Peninsula Rail-

way at Bhilsa, which, besides conferring a great boon on railway passengers will, I am confident, make very considerable increase in our profits. But the benefits of the Bhopal State Railway are not all in the future. It has already given me, and my people, great advantages, as we have now the pleasure of welcoming to Bhopal the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India and other distinguished guests, who have come here by rail to grace this occasion. In the name of the State, I bid you all a most hearty welcome to Bhopal, and I thank you for the honour you have done us in accepting our invitation. To those officers who have taken part in the construction of this Railway, I once more offer my congratulations, on the successful completion of their labours. I am sending a telegram to His Excellency Lord Ripon, informing him that the Bhopal State Railway is now an accomplished fact. His Excellency will, I am sure, receive the intelligence with great satisfaction, and will regard this day as one worthy to be remembered in the history of his Viceroyalty. In conclusion I pray for the everlasting prosperity of the great Empire of



The Earl of Ripon.

(*Page* 148)

Her Majesty the Queen Empress, and I trust that by the grace of God, the friendly relations that have always existed between my State and the British Crown may be strengthened day by day, and that the many kindnesses, shown to the State, and to me personally, by Her Majesty, will ever continue to increase with the length of days."

On the conclusion of Her Highness's speech His Excellency the Governor-General was informed by wire of the opening of the Line.

The Hon'ble Col. Bannerman's Speech.

A banquet was held, the same night to celebrate the occasion. In proposing the health of Her Highness, the Hon'ble Colonel Bannerman, Officiating Agent to the Governor-General, said:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have all assembled here to-night to record a great event in the history of Bhopal, and that event is the opening of the Bhopal-Itarsi Railway. Colonel Thomson will give you the details of the way in which the line has been built. I only wish to give expression to our appreciation of the hardship and difficulties endured by the two Engineers, work-

ing under Mr. Keene, whose absence from amongst us to-night I very much deplore, and also of the different contractors, in their strenuous efforts to bring this heavy task to a speedy and successful termination. The construction of this line, because of the tremendous difficulties created by the "ghauts" and the Narbada river, may well rank among the great engineering feats of India.

Leaving aside for the moment the achievement of the engineering part of the project, let us take into account the economic benefits which this line is sure to bring. It has cost 57,75,000 rupees out of which fifty lakhs, or nearly the whole of the entire cost of construction, has been paid by Her Highness, the Ruler of Bhopal. We all know how much more money the Government of India spends every year on such undertakings, and there is nothing new in that. All civilised countries follow this system. But the State of Bhopal is deserving of all praise for having advanced more than fifty lakhs of rupees *without charging any interest*. I would very much wish other Rulers to take lesson from this. Her Highness

the Begum not only very wisely and generously refused to take any interest, but parted with such a huge amount merely on the expectation that the income of the line would sufficiently repay the amount invested. I hope all present here will join with me most heartily in wishing fulfilment to her expectations. I have been authorized by His Excellency the Viceroy to offer congratulations, on his behalf, to Her Highness on this memorable occasion, and also to assure her that the generosity shown by Bhopal in the matter of this Railway has been much appreciated by the Government of India, though they, and the several Companies in the country, consider charging of interest as a proper and legitimate source of income.

The benefits to the people of the State which this line is to bring, whose opening ceremony we have witnessed to-day, are still in the future. For the time being, this much is obvious that a fertile portion of the country has been opened, which hitherto lay hidden behind the mountains and the river Narbada, from the eyes of merchants and traders. This Railway line is going to

become a great source of income to the State; and when this branch is linked up with the main line via Bhilsa, Lalitpur and Jhansi, this beautiful tract of India, which produces such excellent wheat and oats, will bring large profits to the dealers in grain. Finally when the line is extended to Agra, this section will be a further means of giving an enormous impetus to trade in grain and cereals, a point which has not been lost sight of either by the Government of India, or by any of the big commercial concerns of Bombay.

At this moment we have assembled here to wish prosperity and long life to Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal; and also to wish the best of luck and profit to this line. Her Highness's devotion to the Throne has by now become well-known, and it is absolutely unquestionable that *in the matter of dealing out even-handed justice Her Highness has far excelled her predecessors.* Whatever benefits this line may bring to the grain trade, the greatest boon which it will confer on the subjects of this State will be that they will be better able to pay up fully and

in proper time, their share of land-revenue and the general condition of the State, as a whole, will make a great advance towards prosperity.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall now close my speech by once more wishing health and prosperity to Her Highness the Ruler of Bhopal, and large profits to the Bhopal-Itarsi Railway."

On the termination of Colonel Bannerman's speech, Colonel William Kincaid thanked the guests on behalf of Her Highness for the honour they had done her, by accepting her invitation, and gracing the occasion with their presence.

The Hon. Mr. Crosthwaite, the then Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, expressed the thanks of the guests for Her Highness's lavish and princely hospitality, while Colonel Thompson spoke on the advantages and profits the new line was expected to bring to the State.

There was a show of fireworks after the dinner.

The next day the guests left at different times, bidding cordial goodbyes to Her Highness.

The Golden Jubilee of the Queen Empress.

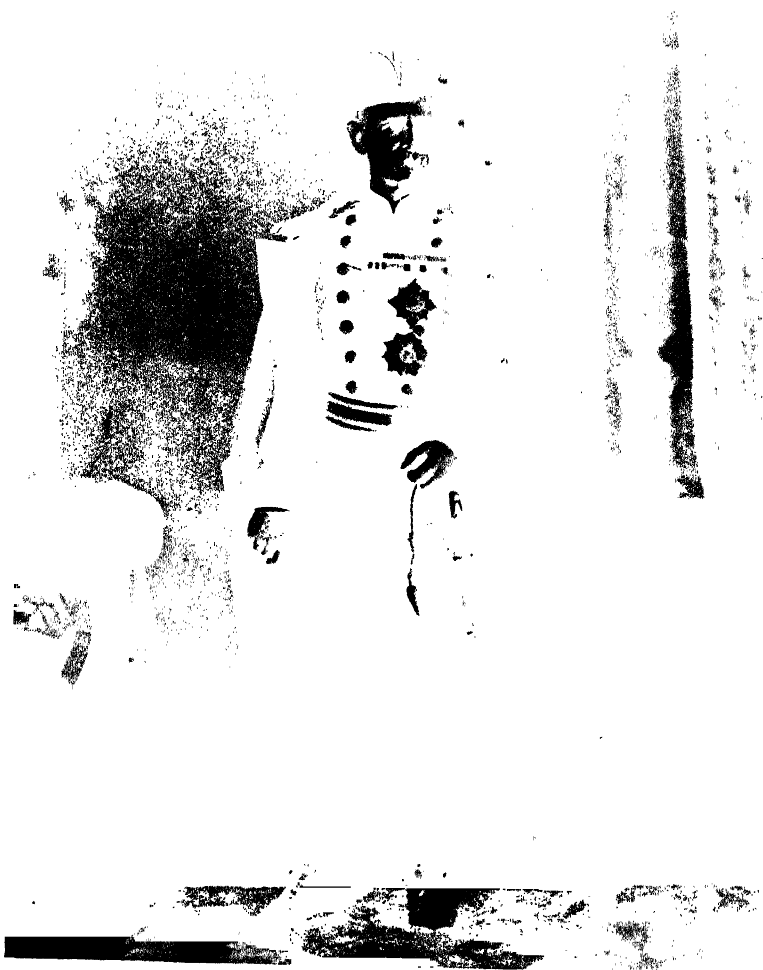
Of all the great State functions hitherto held in this land the Golden Jubilee of the Queen-Empress, Victoria, was one which was observed with unaffected joy and sincere devotion and loyalty to her August Person, in every village and city in India. This was the first occasion when Indians were unanimously and simultaneously holding festivities all over the land in honour of their beloved Sovereign the Queen Empress. Under no previous Ruler had India ever witnessed a function which was the spontaneous outcome of the real and true sentiments of love and affection of her vast population ; and that was perhaps one of the reasons why Indians held these celebrations with such zeal and enthusiasm, and gave such incontestible evidence of their devotion to their Sovereign Empress. The Rulers of the Indian States were equally enthusiastic in celebrating the Jubilee of their Queen Empress, each in his own territory. The high regard and affection Her Highness had for Her Majesty the Queen made the Jubilee celebrations in Bhopal specially marked for their genuineness and sincerity. The Jubilee of 1887 was observed here with befitting

pomp and ceremony. A general holiday was granted for two days. European officers of the Agency were entertained at dinner. All State buildings and military barracks were brilliantly illuminated. Fireworks were displayed. The tanks too had been lighted with thousands of floating lamps. The populace took part in the general celebrations by illuminating and decorating houses. All the shop-keepers in the bazar followed the happy example set by other citizens. Five prisoners, under sentence of penal servitude for life, and nine others for long terms, were released, and the sentences of two prisoners undergoing servitude for life were reduced. To erect a permanent memorial of the happy occasion a dam was ordered to be built on the Shahjehanabad tank and its foundation stone was laid on this happy day. A military grand parade was held and a royal salute was fired. Her Highness sent messages of congratulation to Her Majesty, which were very warmly acknowledged by the Queen Empress. This great day was observed in India on the 16th February, while in England it was observed on the 21st June. Her Highness ordered a

general holiday on the latter date also. A royal salute was fired from the ramparts of the fort and congratulatory messages were once more sent to Her Majesty and graciously acknowledged by her.

Visit of His Excellency Lord Roberts.

His Excellency Lord Roberts, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, in India, came to Bhopal, as Her Highness's guest, with a number of military officers, on the 25th February 1889. He was received with full military honours on his arrival, and Her Highness personally went to the Railway Station to receive him. She waited his arrival outside the Railway Station in her own carriage. His Excellency's special train steamed into the station at 3-45 p.m. On alighting from the saloon His Excellency was greeted by the Political Agent and then walked with Lady Roberts and the Hon. Miss Roberts to Her Highness's carriage, and met her there. After this formal meeting His Excellency drove to the Lal Khothi, which had been most tastefully decorated for the occasion, and it became his temporary residence during his short stay here. Her Highness sat in a separate room during the State Banquet; but after it was



Field-Marshal Lord Frederick Roberts. (*Page* 156)

over, she joined the company and presented "*attar pan*" to the guests of the evening with her own hands. Next day His Excellency inspected the State Forces and paid a high tribute to their smart appearance and martial bearing. Her Highness was unfortunately unable to be present at the parade, but she was informed of all that took place at the inspection, by means of a report submitted by the Commanding Officer of the State Forces.* After the parade, His Excellency went to Tajmahal to pay a visit to Her Highness. Later, in the day, Lady Roberts and the Hon. Miss Roberts called on Her Highness, and were very warmly received by her. On the third day His Excellency, and his party, went to Sehore, to inspect the Bhopal battalion. On their return from thence he started for Ujjain, on the 1st of March.

Visit of His Excellency Lord Lansdowne to Bhopal.

His Excellency Lord Lansdowne, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was to make his public entry in Bhopal on the 20th November 1891. It was the first occasion on

* See Appendix No. 23.

which the State was to have the honour of welcoming and entertaining a Viceroy. The death of the late Nawab Siddiq Hasan had no doubt cast a gloom over Her Highness' life, still she most enthusiastically and cheerfully entered into the plan of according a befitting reception to His Excellency, and made grand and extensive preparations for welcoming him to Bhopal, on a scale commensurate with the loyalty and devotion of the State to the Paramount Power. Several triumphal arches were erected between the Lal Kothi and the Station, and the Pul-Pukhta and Shahjehanabad. These were mounted with red cloth and pretty bamboo-work screens lined the two sides of the roads. A huge gate-way was put up near the military lines, on which old and new arm were arranged in various flowery designs. Although the Lal Kothi is a fine building still, to enhance the beauty of the place, a large Shamiana, worked in gold-embroidery, sufficient for all needs, was erected close to the Kothi. All the arches on the roads were decorated with messages of welcome and with suitable selections of Urdu and Persian couplets. From Munshi

Husain Khan's "Sarai" to the "Bab-i-Shahi" pots of fine flowers and pretty crotons were placed between a row of plantain trees. In front of the Bab-i-Shahi, an arch made of cut glass, was erected with coloured glass flowers, and borders in relief, giving evidence of the artistic taste and originality of the august hostess. All the road, for many miles, leading up to the Ali Manzil was carpeted with red cloth. The internal decoration of the palace was on a very costly style. The regiments of the State in their beautiful and brilliant uniform, lined the sides of the roads in regular order, from the "maidan" opposite the "Naubahar" garden to the Railway Station. Elephants in their gold and silver trappings, were posted in front of the Station. Some of them carried silver and gold "howdas," while others carried the "Mahi Maratib" (the State Banner). The artillery was placed in the open ground near the goods shed. The morning of the 20th November was a glorious one in the annals of Bhopal. The citizens had begun to assemble in large numbers on the roads, much before sun-rise, to see the grand State-entry of the Viceroy, and

to accord him a hearty welcome. Her Highness was present, in full State, to welcome her exalted Guest. No sooner His Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne alighted from the train than the artillery fired a royal salute, and the band struck up a tune of welcome. Her Highness went up to the door of the saloon to greet His Excellency. They then proceeded to the State waiting-room, where the Sirdars and the Officers of the State were presented to His Excellency. Thereafter the procession started for the Lal Kothi. Her Highness accompanied the Viceroy up to the Pul Pukhta, from where she returned to the Tajmahal, and His Excellency, witnessing the decorations on the road, proceeded to Lal Kothi. Formal inquiries after health and official visits were made, and exchanged, the next day. The State banquet was held the same night. During the course of the dinner, Her Highness sat in a separate room, with her Vizier in attendance, but when dinner was over, she entered the Banquet Hall and proposed the health of the Viceroy as follows:

"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentle-



The Marquis of Lansdowne. (*Page* 160)

Speech of Her Highness.

men :—I have no words to express either the pleasure which it gives me to welcome to Bhopal His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Lansdowne, or the gratitude I feel for the honour which their visit has conferred upon me, and my State. I heartily thank Their Excellencies, and my other guests, for the kindness they have done me in accepting my poor hospitality. Although owing to the unbroken loyalty which has, from the earliest days of the history of Bhopal, always been displayed towards the British Government, and also my own endeavours since the time of my accession, to live up to the traditions of my House, I had hoped years ago to procure the honour which His Excellency has now conferred upon me—the honour of welcoming within my territories the Representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the QueenEmpress,—yet as the means of communication between my State and the outside world have, until recently, been such as to render a journey to Bhopal a tedious undertaking, my long cherished hopes have till now been deferred. It may be owing to this, or perhaps, that the time for the fruition of my

hopes had not yet arrived. Whatever be the reason, His Excellency's visit makes me appreciate more keenly the joy which the realization of my hopes has brought me to-day. I can assure His Excellency that the 21st of November, 1891, will always be regarded by us as one of the happiest days of my life, and a red letter day in the history of Bhopal. Since His Excellency's appointment to the high office of Viceroy of India, the greatest sympathy and consideration have characterized all his dealings with this State. To him, and to the Government of which he is the honoured Head, I am deeply grateful, and I beg His Excellency to convey to my Sovereign *the dutiful Shahjehan's* sincerest sense of loyalty and devotion *to spend and be spent* in the service of her Queen Empress."

H. E. Lord Lansdowne's Speech.

In responding to the toast His Excellency spoke as follows :—

" Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply sensible of this honour, which possesses the greater value in my eyes, because I believe I am the first Viceroy who has had the privilege of being received as Her Highness's guest in Bhopal. I appre-

ciate Her Highness's kindness because she is still suffering from a severe domestic affliction, and it must have cost her an effort to emerge from her retirement, but I feel sure that upon this, as upon other occasions, Her Highness would allow no private feelings to prevent her from manifesting by word, or by deed, the respect for Her Majesty the Queen Empress, which she has expressed in such eloquent and earnest terms. I shall not fail to make known to Her Majesty the manner in which Her Highness has referred to Her Majesty this evening. As for myself, it is a source of great satisfaction to me to hear from Her Highness's own lips that I have, in her opinion, treated the different questions connected with the State of Bhopal, which have come before me, with that consideration to which Her Highness is entitled; and I can promise her that my friendly respect for her will, if possible, be still more strengthened by the manner in which she has received me on this interesting occasion. The Rulers of Bhopal have always been conspicuous for their loyalty, their administrative ability, and their magnificent charity. The

services rendered to the British Government by the mother of Her Highness, Nawab Secunder Begum, during the Mutiny, when such services were most needed, has not been overlooked, and *can never be forgotten by us.* The present Ruler of such a State, which has rendered so great services to the Supreme Government, is a worthy inheritor of those traditions. *She has shown herself to be a wise and sagacious Ruler, and she has contributed largely towards the welfare of the State by her generous support of many good and useful works.* She has constructed roads, assisted liberally in the development of the Railway system of this part of India, built hospitals, secured for the people of Bhopal an inexhaustible supply of good water, and only to-day she has intimated to me her desire that the Government of India can, if it likes, freely utilize her offer she made some time ago, to place a part of the military forces of her State at the disposal of the Government, for purposes of Imperial defence.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join with me in drinking Her Highness's health and in expressing the hope that her domestic

troubles and anxieties, which she has recently undergone, may, in time, pass away and be forgotten, and that she may long be spared to continue *a reign which has been fruitful of good to the people of her State,* and which has so greatly merited the support and approbation of the Government of India."

After dinner, the guests witnessed a brilliant display of fire works in the Lal Kothi compound.

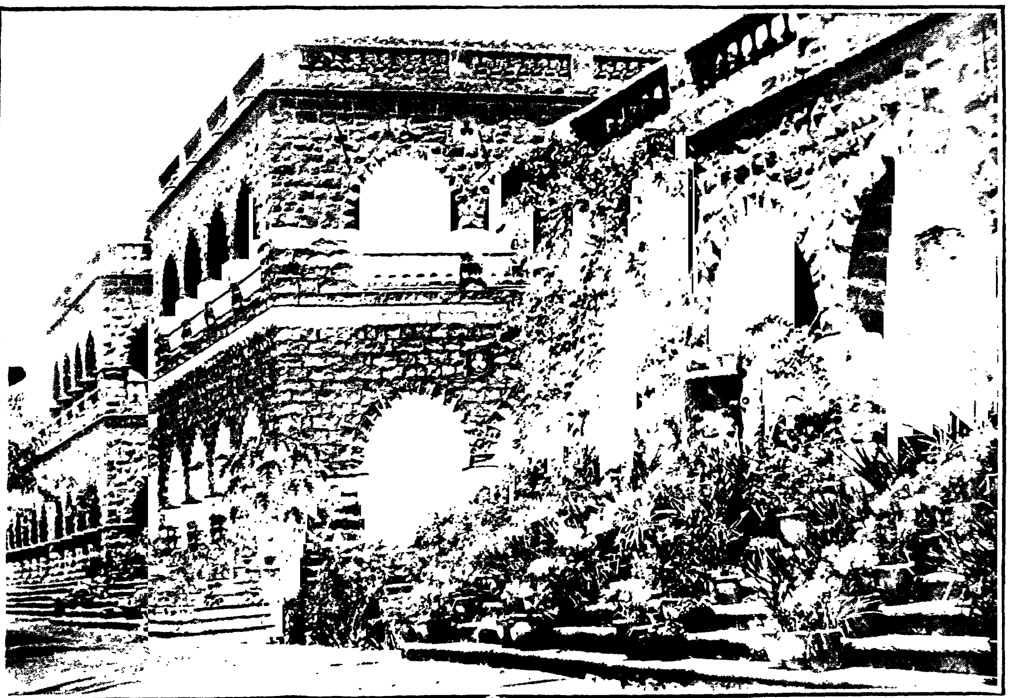
Festivities at Taj Mahal Palace.

The next evening all the guests went to the Tajmahal—my Mother's Palace—to see the illuminations. They were accommodated on the roof of that part of the palace called the "Dilkusha," which is situated on the bank of the adjoining tank. On this occasion golden, silver and cut-glass chairs were provided for the guests. Thousands of coloured lamps flashed from every part of the great palace; thousands more illuminated the margin of the tank, varied at intervals with cascades and fountains of fire. Weird and fantastic boats, swans and birds, jewelled shapes from fairy lands, floated over the surface of the water, in which the entire surrounding scene was reflected with dazzling

effect. In the big ground and courtyard of the adjoining "Alimanzil" palace, every nook and corner had been illuminated; and artificial fiery flowers vied in colour with natural ones. The garden was in its best bloom, and lamps of variegated hue were hung on every bough, turning the whole place into a iridescent fairy garden. The guests were charmed with the wonderful and magnificent spectacle, and were loud in the praises of their great hostess. The Marchioness of Lansdowne was pleased to remark that *she had not seen in any Native State a more brilliant, and effective display, either of hospitality or of fireworks.*

During his stay in Bhopal, His Excellency visited the ancient Buddhist monuments of Sanchi, also the hospitals and the fort. After dinner, on the night of 22nd November, His Excellency left for Indore.

An idea of the deep impression the high qualities of his hostess had left on His Excellency's mind, and the welcome he had been accorded here, can be formed from the following extract of a speech he delivered at the Town Hall in Calcutta, on his return, from



Lady Lansdowne Zenana Hospital.

(Page 166)

his tour in the Indian States: "I visited no less than four Indian Chiefs; and it would be sheer ingratitude on my part if I were not to acknowledge the warmth of the reception I met with at their hands, and if I did not bear testimony to the spirit of loyalty by which they were animated. I had the pleasure of visiting Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal and *I was astonished at her enlightenment, prudence and ability.* The loyalty of the State is proved both by its traditions and by its history. *The Begum herself has always been a true friend and firm supporter of the English Throne.* In spite of the private sorrow, which at the time of my visit was weighing heavily upon her, *her cordial and friendly welcome is something I shall not easily forget.*"

When Her Highness heard that His Excellency was to pass Bhopal, during his winter tour of 1892, she expressed a desire to entertain Their Excellencies at dinner, at the Railway Station. Their Excellencies graciously agreed to Her Highness's wishes. The Viceregal Special stopped at 8 p.m., at Bhopal, for a few hours only, on the 28th

October 1892. Dinner was served under a gorgeous shamiana, pitched near the Railway Station. After dinner, Her Highness proposed the toast of Their Excellencies, to which the Viceroy responded as follows:—

Lord Lansdowne's second Speech in Bhopal.

"Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I cannot sufficiently thank Her Highness for the very kind words in which she has proposed my health and that of Lady Lansdowne. For a second time we have the great pleasure of enjoying the hospitality of Bhopal. The previous occasion was twelve months ago. *It was one I shall never forget, and I am quite sure will never be forgotten by those who were here with me.* Since I came to India nothing has left a deeper impression on my mind than the eloquent and sincere speech in which Her Highness, at the conclusion of the former State banquet, expressed her devotion to the Government of India, and her loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In accordance with the promise I then made, I communicated the Begum's sentiments to Her Majesty, by whom they were very highly appreciated. For Her Highness's kindness

to us to-day we feel especially grateful. Our route happened to take us through the State of Bhopal, but it was not possible for us to make any prolonged stay here. The moment Her Highness was informed that we were to reach Bhopal this evening she invited us to alight, if only for a few minutes, and partake once more of her generous hospitality. Thus Her Highness has again manifested publicly her loyalty, and I can publicly assure her, though I am confident that no such assurance from me is necessary, that *there is no Chief in India on whose loyalty the British Government places more reliance than on that of the Begam of Bhopal.* And if ever my Government can be of any service to her, it will always be a pleasure to me to see that its assistance and support are forthcoming.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to join me in drinking the health of Her Highness the Begum with every good wish for the happiness of her life and the welfare of her State."

Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Elgin arrived in Bhopal on the 4th November 1895.

Visit of H. E. Lord Elgin to Bhopal.

Her Highness gave them a very warm and hearty welcome. The same elaborate preparations were made for this occasion, as on the former Viceroy's visit. The customary official visits were made and exchanged, and the usual State banquet was held. Her Highness proposed the health of her great guest in the following words:—

Speech of Her Highness.

"It is simply impossible for me to express in words the great honour and happiness which Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Elgin have conferred upon me and this State, by accepting my invitation and coming to Bhopal to-day. The Princes and people of this land have been doubly delighted to see in His Excellency a worthy descendant of a former Governor-General, this matter being peculiar to His Excellency alone of all the previous Rulers of India.

The reports of the officers of the Political Department must have informed Your Excellency of the severity of the calamities my State has undergone during the past two years. In the first place my subjects had to suffer great hardships owing to scarcity of grain and consequent rise in the

price of food stuff. The need of importing grain from outside was felt imperatively Secondly, the local "mahajans" saw their chance of gain, and they raised the rate of exchange so high as 25, and even 30 per cent. The State had not only to open relief works and distribute seed and taqavi in different districts, at enormous cost; but much hard work had to be done in checking crime and protecting the life and property of my subjects. My Vizier, and his subordinates, had practically sacrificed their personal rest and comfort, at the altar of my beloved subjects' service. But in spite of all these ceaseless efforts, conditions had not yet taken a favourable turn when the happy news of Your Excellency's intended visit brought new life to the State, and by the grace of God Almighty, things began to assume a happier and more cheerful aspect, as if by magic. The "Kharif" harvest was all that could be desired; and now, through the blessings of Your Excellency's presence here, and that of Lady Elgin, strong hopes are entertained of an excellent harvest in the coming "Rabi."

Your Excellency, in spite of the difficulties mentioned just now, I had issued orders to hurry up the construction of Bhopal-Ujjain Railway, so that I may have the great pleasure of seeing it opened by Your Excellency's hands. But I am very sorry to inform you that all our efforts in this direction have proved fruitless; and the line has not yet reached the stage when it could be pronounced safe for travelling.

Being ever loyal to the British throne I applied, on the 6th June 1889, to the Government of India to permit me to create a regiment of infantry, a regiment of cavalry and a unit of artillery, for the purpose of serving the British Empire in times of need, and especially during the threatened war with Russia. But your Government allowed me to create only one regiment of cavalry, which has now been done.

Considering the short time I have had to organize it, I am confident, Your Excellency will be very pleased when you inspect my regiment. I have paid special attention to the fact that the Lancers should be young and smart and their horses of Arab blood. It is

now my desire that I should be permitted to name the Regiment "The Bhopal Victoria Lancers."

I have no words to express the gratitude I feel for the innumerable kindnesses and honours showered upon me, and my family, by Her Majesty the Queen Empress. I can only say in one of our own couplets; "Whose hands and tongue can sufficiently discharge the great debt of gratitude"? I am afraid my lengthy speech has already taxed the patience of my exalted guest. I shall therefore now conclude with the prayer that their Excellencies Lord and Lady Elgin, and their family, may live long to enjoy ever increasing health, wealth, honour, and prosperity, and may all my guests enjoy great and continuous happiness. I shall now request you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to raise your glasses to the health of their Excellencies Lord and Lady Elgin.

Replying to the toast, His Excellency Lord Elgin delivered the following eloquent speech:—

Lord Elgin's Speech.

"Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I rise to respond to the cordial manner

in which you have received the toast of our health and to express my deep obligation to Her Highness for the kind words in which she has proposed it. This is not the first time on which Her Highness the Begum has welcomed a Viceroy in Bhopal and has proposed his health; and I think we may feel well assured that any one who comes in the name, and as the representative of, the Queen Empress, may always be certain to find here a ready and friendly welcome from the Ruler of Bhopal.

In saying this I wish to draw no invidious comparison, for I have met with too much kindness from other Princes and Chiefs of India, but *it is a well-known fact that the Rulers of Bhopal yield to none in loyalty to the British Raj*. I feel certain that loyalty will not only be expressed, as it has been to-night, in eloquent terms by Her Highness, but will also be made good in action, as it was in the time of her predecessors. I hope that in the circumstances of the present day we shall never see our friend Colonel Barr forced to quit Indore; but if he were to do so, I have no doubt that as a former Resident



The Earl of Elgin and Kincardine. (*Page* 174)

found, the Colonel will also find ready assistance from the Ruler of Bhopal. In the meantime, Ladies and Gentlemen, we are not surprised to find that Her Highness the Begum gave ready assent to that movement which was instituted a few years back to give expression to the loyalty of the Princes and Chiefs of India to the Crown, and that she took advantage, as she has told us this evening, of the opportunity of establishing a regiment of Imperial Service Troops. I am already in a position, from having seen the soldiers on escort duty, to congratulate Her Highness on the excellent manner in which they are horsed and equipped; and I have no doubt that in the parade to-morrow, they will give a satisfactory account of themselves, and show that they have profitted by the training which they received from Colonel Mallis and his able assistant, to whom this movement owes so much.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there is another matter in which Her Highness the Begum has followed the traditions of her House. The Rulers of Bhopal have ever been known for their charitable instincts and Her Highness

has devoted much time and money to the promotion of public works. I think it just that I should deplore the famine, to which Her Highness has already alluded, which has, we regret, forced the Begum to take enormous troubles in obtaining grain for her people. I therefore sincerely join in the hope Her Highness has expressed this evening that the unsatisfactory seasons of the last two years may give place to better prospects, and that the cultivators of this part of the country may reap the profit which justly accrue to them from the fertility of the soil. I find it difficult to put a limit to the commendation which is due to the Ruler of a State who like Her Highness, devotes the revenue of the State to the promotion of works of public utility. *There is only one proviso I should like to make and that is that such works be undertaken with prudent foresight and with an eye to economy.* There is a temptation to look to the immediate benefit which accrues from opening up a great part of the country, the crops of which are unable to reach the markets readily; but I think it must be borne in mind that *much*

of that benefit will be lost if (by lavish expenditure) the credit of the State is endangered for the future as well for to-day. It is from an earnest wish to see the highest possible honour associated with the name of Her Highness that I have ventured to refer to a point which has sometimes been overlooked; and, may be, she has already considered and kept my point in view.

Her Highness has alluded to one great work, the Ujjain Railway, in which she has taken a conspicuous interest, and over which I had hoped about this time to be travelling. I have no doubt that work will be one of great benefit to the country, and that Her Highness will derive all the profit from it which prompted her to undertake the work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Her Highness has spoken this evening of the favours which she has received from Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. I assure Her Highness that Her Majesty, and the Government of India who represent Her Majesty, are ever willing to recognise the good work which is done by the Rulers of the States, for the benefit of their subjects.

In thanking Her Highness once again

for the kindly welcome which she has given us, for the splendid reception which she has provided for us, and for the magnificent spectacle which we have seen in our drive to the city this evening, I should like to express an earnest hope that she may have long life and happiness to enjoy the honours which have been so worthily conferred upon her. I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join with me in drinking the health of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal."

Opening Ceremony of the Bhopal-Ujjain Railway.

Colonel David Barr, Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, came to Bhopal in 1897, to perform the opening ceremony of the Bhopal-Ujjain Railway. The Staff of the Railway Company was responsible for this gathering. Her Highness had invited several European ladies and gentlemen, officers of the Sehore Agency, and the high officers of the Railway Company. The speeches delivered by Her Highness and Colonel Barr on this occasion are given below, in their respective order :—

Speech of Her Highness.

"Colonel Barr, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I thank God for this happy day on which, thirteen years after the completion of Bhopal

State Railway, we are able to open this new line from Bhopal to Ujjain for the benefit of trade and of the people of Central India, and especially of the inhabitants of Bhopal. We are indebted for these many benefits, firstly to the grace and favour of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, and secondly to the good government which this small State has enjoyed through the kind favour of His Excellency the Viceroy, and the sympathetic support of the Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, and that of Major Meade, Political Agent, in Bhopal. I am most grateful to Colonel Barr for the honour he has conferred upon us by coming here to-day to perform the opening ceremony. And I offer my congratulation to Mr. Sherman, Chief Engineer of the Railway, on the able manner in which he has carried out the construction of this line. It is owing to his having so skilfully combined speed with economy, that we are already enjoying our share of the profits on the working of this line, instead of having to wait nine years for them, as we had to, in the case of Bhopal-Itarsi line. I also desire to thank Major and Mrs. Meade and

all the other guests, for their kindness in coming to grace these proceedings. In conclusion, I pray for the continued prosperity of the British Empire, and of Her Most Gracious Majesty. May she never cease to bestow upon my State and myself the blessings of her Royal favour."

Speech of the Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General in Central India.

"Nawab Begum Sahiba, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I fulfill Your Highness's desire and declare the Bhopal section of this Railway open, I must briefly explain to you why it is that we are taking part in this ceremony to-day. The Bhopal-Ujjain Railway has actually been open to traffic since the month of April; but it was hot season then, and journey to Bhopal during summer would have been attended with much discomfort. Your Highness very kindly postponed the opening ceremony at my request till the present, more favourable season. It is a great pleasure to me on this, my first official visit to Bhopal, that I have been able to comply with Your Highness's wishes, and to accompany Your Highness in your first journey over this new line.

"Her Highness the Begum is among those

Indian Chiefs who have been the first to recognize the advantage of a Railway system. The Bhopal State Railway, from Itarsi to Bhopal, was opened in 1884. It was a very costly undertaking; for not only had the Narbada to be bridged at Hoshangabad, in itself a gigantic task, but the line had to be carried across the Vindhia hills, necessitating construction of bridges and culverts, which involved great labour and heavy expense. Although it is true, as Her Highness has remarked, that for several years the line was worked without any pecuniary profit, yet its importance can hardly be overestimated, for it was one of the foundations of the Indian Midland Railway system, which now traverses so large a portion of Central India, extending from Itarsi, through Bhopal, on to Jhansi and Gwalior, thence to Agra, with branches connecting Jhansi with Cawnpore and Manikpore; and Bhopal with Ujjain.

I am sure, ladies and gentlemen, that you will join me in congratulating Her Highness most cordially on the completion of this last section of the Indian Midland Railway, and in expressing the hope that

she may enjoy the fruits of the liberality she has displayed in its construction. I trust that this line will not only prove a source of profit to Her Highness, but that it will increase both the trade of her State and the prosperity and comfort of her people, which is of even greater importance; and that it will, by facilitating transportation of grain, help to mitigate the sufferings of the poor in years of scarcity, like the present.

Her Highness has acknowledged her indebtedness to Mr. Sherman, who has been the Chief Engineer of this Railway from the day it was commenced till its completion. I also desire to offer him my thanks and congratulations, and to all those who have been associated with him in this laudable labour. We are so accustomed in these days to travelling on Railways that we seldom think or appreciate the thousand and one difficulties which have to be faced by those who, like Mr. Sherman, undertake planning, constructing and organizing such great works.

Nawab Begum Sahiba, I assure you that I, and all your guests, have heard with real pleasure the words of loyalty you have

spoken to-day, for we know that these words are the genuine expression of your personal feelings ; and we look upon the zeal and energy with which you have supported this, and other works of public utility, as the natural outcome of your devotion to that noble Sovereign, who is not only the Queen of England but the Mother of her people, in all parts of the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now declare this line open and I ask you to join me in drinking to the health of Her Highness the Begum, and to the prosperity of the Bhopal-Ujjain Railway."

The guests then proceeded to lunch, and thereafter Col. Barr went back to Sehore by special train, at 2 p.m. Her Highness ordered that a large sum should be given in charity to the poor and deserving people on this occasion. The Railway Officials were also adequately remunerated ; and for the intellectual benefit of the Railway Staff at Bhopal she presented them an entire library of books.

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria.

The loving way in which the people of India observed the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, in 1897, shall always remain a great landmark in the

annals of this land. The auspicious day was observed in Bhopal on June the 23rd, 1897. It was a gala day for Bhopal. Her Highness had made preparations on a very big scale for this most happy occasion. Early in the morning, a Royal salute was fired from the fort and also from the battery on the parade ground, and a gymkhana was held at five, in the afternoon. There was general illumination in the night all over the city, and music and merriment in practically every house. A large number of prisoners were released, and many had their sentences reduced. Grain was distributed to the poor in the city, and in all the villages of the State. Her Highness invited the girls of the Victoria School to the palace and presented each of them with costly clothes; and rewards were awarded to State officials and the servants of the palace. European guests were invited to dinner on the 8th July. In proposing the Royal toast Her Highness said:

Speech of Her Highness.

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have asked you this evening to join me in the general rejoicings which, owing to the Jubilee of the sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign, have glad-

dened the hearts of all the Indian subjects of Her Majesty, and my heart in a special manner.

The reason why I am specially happy is that I was born and placed on the "masnad," and received the dignity of Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and other distinctions, during Her Majesty's reign. Moreover, she belongs to my sex.

Although I never had the honour of being presented to Her Majesty, yet my affection for her is like that of a daughter for her mother. Her Majesty has invariably shown a maternal kindness towards me; and I fancy that I still live under the protection, and enjoy the affections, of my late mother Nawab Secunder Begum. All Indians, as a matter of fact, are loyal and obedient to Her Majesty. I am not only loyal to her, but I cherish a filial love for her. The benefit which Her Majesty's Indian subjects have derived during her benign reign defy description. Our people have got all that makes life comfortable; science, literature and commerce having improved considerably during

her reign, fraught with rich blessings. I would have invited you on the fixed date of the Jubilee celebrations, but on that day every one was holding festivities in his home, rejoicings still continued in England, and I did not like to curtail the period of joy.

I pray that Her Majesty may live long; and I ask you to join me in the prayer that she may attain to the age of a hundred and sixty years and request you to drink to Her Majesty's health."

After the royal toast had been honoured, Nawab Moulvi Abdul Jabbar Khan, Vizier of the State, proposed the health of the guests, and during the course of his speech paid a glowing tribute to Her Majesty, for her noble qualities of head and heart, and her great love for her subjects.

Speech of Capt. Newmarch.

Captain Newmarch, the Political Agent, then spoke as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,—The brilliant speech which you have just heard from the lips of Her Highness will have given you sufficient proof of her eloquence and loyalty, but those who have the honour and privilege of knowing Her Highness intima-

tely will tell you that *she possess many a noble quality besides eloquence and loyalty.* Her Highness's hospitality is too well-known to need any mention from me, for it is tasted by every one who visits Bhopal, be he a Viceroy, a distinguished stranger, a Political Agent, or a pauper; and *if this famine continues there is no saying to what condition it may leave us lighter in purse.*

Her Highness's nobility of heart is exemplified every day of her life by the hearty support which she gives to her Minister, whose administration has already given us high hopes for the future, by the ready help with which she co-operates with the Political Agent, and by that constant kindness which she shows not only towards her subordinates and retainers, but also to those poor victims of famine who find their way here from distant lands, in the confident hope, never disappointed, that the Begum's charity will relieve them from their sufferings. Two years ago His Excellency the Viceroy referred to Begum Secunder's loyalty during the days of the Mutiny, and reminded

us that those who sought her protection in that time of disorder were not disappointed of their hopes.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would go a step further in saying, and you will echo my sentiments when I say, that *there is no better place in India where I would rather like to live in than Bhopal.*

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you now to drink to the health of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal."

The Calcutta Chamber of Commerce had opened a fund to perpetuate the memory of the Diamond Jubilee by erecting a statue of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Her Highness subscribed liberally to this fund and sent a letter of congratulation to the Chamber.

Lord Curzon's Visit to Bhopal.

His Excellency Lord Curzon visited Bhopal on the 25th November 1899. Arrangements for giving him a fitting reception, and for dinner and fireworks, were made on an extensive scale, and much thought was given to make the entertainments as attractive as possible.

At the State Banquet the following

speeches were delivered by Her Highness and by His Excellency respectively :—

Speech of Her Highness.

"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no fear of being contradicted when I say that at the present moment there is none more fortunate or more honoured than I am in this vast Empire, in that I have the privilege of counting among my guests the Viceroy of our beloved Queen-Empress—may her Empire last for ever—and His Excellency's noble lady, who shares the dignity of his high office with him. My gratitude for the honour done to me and to my State, by their presence here to-day, is more than I can express. His Excellency is fully aware that my predecessors have ever been loyal to the British Throne; and since I became the Ruler of Bhopal I have had no higher ambition than to excel the example they have set before me. My subjects, both Mohammadans and Hindus are faithful supporters of Her Majesty's Government; and I can truly say that *no Mohammadan who is true to his faith can ever rebel against the reigning Sovereign and the Supreme Power.* I trust that the regiment of the Imperial

Service Lancers, which the State now maintains, will enable many of them to give a practical proof of their desire to defend and advance the welfare of Her Majesty's Empire. Since the visit of Lord Lansdowne the most important event in the history of my State has been the introduction of British coinage in Bhopal and the passing of the Arms Act. The former measure, by abolishing the difficulties of exchange, has done much to facilitate commerce; and the latter, by making it impossible for persons of criminal disposition, to go about armed, has added greatly to the security of my people. The measure certainly does not contemplate curtailing the right of defending one's hearth and home from the depredations of lawless people. The most important public work of late years has of course been the construction of the Ujjain Railway. Owing to a succession of bad harvests there has been, during many years past, much distress in the State; and although better crops were raised last year, the cultivators are still feeling the effect of the heavy losses of past years. This year the monsoon has again failed us partially; but if, by the grace

of God, rain falls in the cold season, we may hope to escape the misfortunes of a famine.

I beg to express once more my deep sense of the honour Your Excellency has done me in visiting my capital. In years to come Your Excellency will no doubt be entertained by many a worthier host, but I venture to say, *seldom by one of such filial feelings of loyalty and devotion as mine ;* and I think it will be very long before I shall again have the good fortune to welcome so distinguished a guest as Your Excellency. May God long preserve the life of Her Imperial Majesty Queen Victoria, and may He grant health and happiness to her Viceroy, and bless his rule with peace and prosperity.

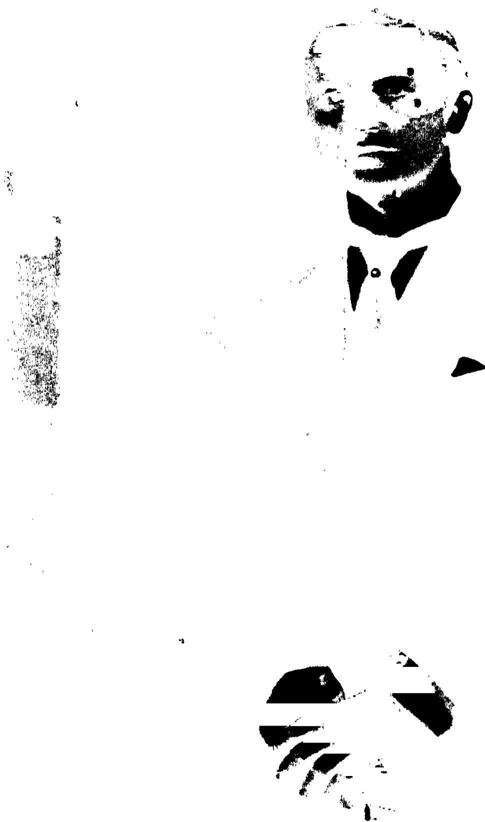
Before closing my speech I offer my cordial thanks to my other guests who have, out of their great good-will towards me, been kind enough to accept my invitation.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Curzon."

Speech of H.E. Lord Curzon.

After the termination of Her Highness's speech Lord Curzon responded in glowing terms as follows :

"Your Highness, Ladies and Gentlemen: Her Highness the Begum, whose guests we have the pleasure of being to night, undoubtedly has the gift of graceful speech, no less than that of magnificent hospitality. She has proposed the health of Lady Curzon and myself in terms so felicitous that they will always be fresh in the recollections of our first official visit to one of the principal Native States of India. It is a satisfaction to me to think that the particular State which thus receives us should be one, the Ruler of which has, during more than thirty years, won so honourable a reputation *for enlightenment and public spirited administration*, besides sustaining the tradition, already rendered notable by the conduct of her mother, *of devoted loyalty to the British Crown.* Surely, if by an accident of fortune, the Ruler happens to be of the gentler sex, *it does not necessarily follow that the power has passed into, or has been delegated to, feebler or irresponsible hands,* as is amply shown by the career of our beloved Sovereign, Her Majesty the Queen-Empress; nor may we fail, on a smaller scale, to find an illustration of the same rule in the case of the



Marquis Curzon of Kedleston. (*Page* 192)

two successive Begums who have now, for the combined period of more than half a century presided over the fortunes of the State of Bhopal. Her Highness's mother was distinguished not only, as I have said, for her fidelity to the British Throne, but also for her ability as a Ruler. Similarly *the rule of Her Highness has been rendered memorable by many acts of administrative prudence and private generosity,* while from the speech which has just been delivered, I gather with pleasure, that her active interest in the well being of her subjects is far from being exhausted, and that she still continues to devise and carry out projects, conducive to the prosperity of the State, which testify to her practical wisdom.

I shall, on Monday, have the pleasure of inspecting on the parade ground,the Regiment of Cavalry which Her Highness has contributed to the defence of the Empire, and which has been named after Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Her Highness has always taken great interest in the regiment under her own command. I am also pleased to hear that she has recently added to the attraction of the regiment by raising its scale of pay.

I look with great interest on the conversion of native currencies in the Feudatory States of India, and the substitution for them of the uniform and stable coinage of British mints. In taking this step, as far back as 1897, Her Highness has acted as pioneer in a movement in which, I believe, she is destined to find many followers, and which must unquestionably tend to the commercial advantage of the entire community.

Similarly, Her Highness has been well advised in keeping her eye upon the gangs of desperate and unruly men who, from time to time, raise their heads even in British India, and find in any season of distress, opportunities for reviving the discredited profession of predatory crime. *The first test of an orderly State is the security which it gives to the life and property of its citizens.* Dacoits are a public scourge, to whom no State should show any mercy.

Although here the agricultural outlook, as Her Highness has remarked, is not altogether free from anxiety, yet it is a source of great satisfaction to me to find in Bhopal that the condition of this part of India is more favour-

able than any I have met with elsewhere. It is a very trying experience to see pinched human faces, and dying cattle all over the land. I echo Her Highness's prayer that this State may escape both the calamities, and that providence may be merciful to her people.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to thank Her Highness the Begum for Her friendliness towards Lady Curzon and myself; and to assure her that *we shall not forget our right royal welcome in this State;* and to ask all the ladies and gentlemen seated at this table, who, like ourselves, are recipients of her profuse hospitality, to join with me in drinking long life and prosperity to Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal."

CHAPTER VIII.

TRAVELS—DURBARS AND DECORATIONS.

Before she became Ruler, my mother had already attended several durbars held at Jubbulpore, Allahabad and Agra from time to time, in company with the late Nawab Secunder Begum. She had also visited Benares, Jaunpore, Fyzabad, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Delhi, Muttra, Jeypore, etc., with my grand mother, but as these events did not happen in my mother's reign, and as they have been described in great detail in the biography of Nawab Secunder Begum, and in the Tajul-Iqbal, I have thought it superfluous to narrate anything about them here. I shall now write of only those durbars and travels with which Her Highness was concerned directly as Ruler.

Visit to Calcutta.

A year after her accession, Her Highness went to Calcutta in 1286 A.H. to meet His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh. Lord Mayo was the then Viceroy and Governor

General, and His Excellency received Her Highness with the utmost politeness and due consideration. His Royal Highness, as well as His Excellency, paid return visits to Her Highness at her residence. During her visit to Calcutta, Her Highness got the opportunity of attending the Investiture Ceremony, on the 30th December, and was also able to make the acquaintance of the Governors of Madras and Bombay as also of the Metropolitan of India. Her Highness once paid a visit to the Opera House. She also witnessed the military review, and went to see the steamer which had brought His Royal Highness to India. After staying a fortnight in Calcutta, Her Highness returned to Bhopal.

His Excellency Lord Northbrook held a big Durbar in Bombay on the 16th November 1872, for the purpose of decorating the recipients of Titles and Orders. Many Ruling Chiefs and leading Citizens of India attended this Durbar, to which Her Highness had been especially invited, as she was to receive the decoration of the G.C.S.I. The Government of India had originally intended to hold this Durbar at Ambala, but the climate of the place

Visit to Bombay.

being unsuitable, it was decided to hold the Durbar in Bombay. Her Highness started on her journey, with a large number of officers and relatives, on the 5th Ramzan 1289 A.H. (7th November 1872). I also accompanied Her Highness. It took us full six days, by easy marches, to reach Harda (in the Central Provinces). We then took train and reached Bombay the next day, alighting at Byculla Station.

Colonel John William Welby Osborne, Political Agent of Bhopal, the Political Secretary, and an A. D. C. to the Governor of Bombay, came to receive us. Besides the Government officials, there were many leading citizens of Bombay, such as Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy and others, present on the platform, to accord us welcome. A Guard of Honour, from an English Regiment, was drawn up on the platform, and presented arms on our alighting from the train, and a salute of 19 guns was fired from the fort. A troop of the Poona Horse escorted us to our dwelling place. The Political Agent, and other officers who had come to receive us, on behalf of the Government, accompanied us to the

place which had been selected for our stay. The house was the property of Bhimjee Maneckjee, a Parsi gentleman, and had been especially fitted up for us.

Her Highness called on His Excellency the Governor of Bombay the same evening at 4 p.m. The customary formalities were gone through, and a salute was fired when we reached Government House. His Excellency paid his return visit at 8-30, the next morning. He was accorded the usual ceremonies and a salute was fired in honour of his visit.

His Excellency Lord Northbrook was timed to reach Bombay that very evening. The different Princes and Chiefs present in the town had gone to the pier to receive him.

The ship anchored in the harbour at 3 p.m. On alighting from his launch, His Excellency walked up to his tent, and from there went in procession to the Government House through streets, which were thronged with crowds of spectators even to street doors and windows. The Princes and Chiefs accompanied His Excellency the Viceroy to the Government House.

Her Highness paid her official visit to the Viceroy on the 13th Ramzan (16th November). I was with Her Highness on this occasion, and so were the Nawab Walajah, the Madar-ul-muham, the Mir Bakhshi (Commanding Officer of the State forces), the State Vakil and the Treasury Officer. The Chief Secretary to the Government of India, and an A. D. C., came half the way to receive us, and we had a troop of cavalry to escort us. On our arrival at the Government House, His Excellency the Viceroy walked up to the edge of the carpet to receive Her Highness. After formal salutations and exchange of compliments, all of us presented our "nazars" to him. Her Highness made inquiries after the health of His Excellency and his daughter, and also after that of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. His Excellency conversed in the most affable and dignified manner. He enquired of Her Highness if she had written a "History of Mecca," in English, to which Her Highness replied that the book had been written by her mother, but that she herself had prepared a "History of Bhopal," both in Urdu and Persian, and she promised

to send a copy to His Excellency when an English version of the book was printed. His Excellency then offered "atar pan" and personally garlanded Her Highness; myself and the Nawab Walajah were garlanded by the Chief Secretary to Government; and the rest of our retinue by the A. D. C. on duty.

A Chapter of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.

The Durbar was held on the 16th November at 3 p.m. A large shamiana was pitched in the grounds of the Government House and red carpet was spread on the ground from the carriage entrance to the very doors of the shamiana. Her Highness started for the Government House with myself, the Nawab Walajah and other companions at the right time. Our carriage stopped at the appointed place, and we remained seated in our carriage till the time came for us to enter the Durbar. The other Knights of the Exalted Order were received by the Under Secretary and conducted to their respective tents where they put on their robes. When all of them were ready, His Excellency arrived in the robes of the Grand Master,

and entered the Durbar tent, in full ceremonial procession.

The order of the procession was as follows:—Lancers and Mace-bearers headed the procession; then came the Master of the Ceremonies, followed by the Under Secretary and the Secretary to Government; behind whom walked the Members of the 3rd class of the Star of India; who were followed by Members of the 2nd class; and thereafter came the Members of the 1st class. Preceding each Knight Grand Commander there was an Officer who carried his banner, and behind the Knight were his Sirdars and retainers. Next came the Military Secretary and Private Secretary to the Viceroy, who carried the banner of the Grand Master; and behind these Secretaries walked His Excellency the Grand Master himself, and the rear was brought up by the Officers and servants of His Excellency's household.

When the Grand Master entered the Durbar tent all persons present stood up, each in his appointed place, and remained standing. His Excellency passed before each Knight, who made due obeisance to him. A royal

salute was fired when His Excellency took his seat on the dais. Then the Secretary proclaimed the Chapter open, and began to call out the names and titles of the Knight Commanders. Each knight, on his name being called out, stood in his place and made obeisance; as for those who were absent the Under Secretary said so. Then the Secretary proclaimed in a loud voice that this Chapter had been convened by a Royal mandate, for the installation of Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, as also to decorate the Honourable Sir John Strachey. Thereafter the Foreign and the Under Secretaries came to our carriages to conduct Her Highness to the Durbar tent, where two other Officers met us. A small procession was then formed and we advanced into the Durbar. Heading the procession walked the lancers, then the mace bearers, next the Under Secretary who carried the Star of the Order, and behind him walked the Foreign Secretary; after whom walked two officers, then the Political Agent in Bhopal, behind whom came an Officer with the banner furled, followed by Her Highness, and after Her Highness walked her companions and

myself. As soon as Her Highness set foot within the Durbar tent, the Guard of Honour presented arms, and we took the seats provided for us. Behind Her Highness's chair sat the Political Agent, and by his side Bakhshi Hafiz Mohammad Hasan Khan, as he was holding Her Highness's banner. Behind him were seated myself, the Nawab Sahib and the first Minister. The rest of our retainers sat behind us. On account of Her Highness's sex the Government was pleased to allow two boys, to act as her page of honour,to hold up her robes.

When the Foreign Secretary handed the Royal mandate to the Grand Master, Her Highness walked up to the throne. The Secretary then took the Star from the table, and after bowing, handed it to the Grand Master, who gave the Royal mandate to the Secretary, to be read aloud. He then led Her Highness up to the table, and at a sign from the Grand Master, Sir Richard Temple took the Star and Sir Edward Russell the banner from the Secretary, and both the knights robed Her Highness in the mantle of the Order, and conducted her to the foot of the throne, where Her Highness made her

obeisance, while the two knights remained standing on each side of her. The Grand Master then arose, and put the Collar of the Order round Her Highness's neck and said: "In the name of the Queen and by Her Majesty's command, I hereby invest your Highness with the honourable Insignia of the Star of India, of which Most Exalted Order Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint you to be a Knight Grand Commander." At the conclusion of this short speech a salute of 19 guns was fired, and the Foreign Secretary led Her Highness up to each Knight Grand Commander in turn, who shook hands with her. Thereafter, she was conducted to the table where she signed on the rolls of the Order, as required by the rules. Her Highness then bowing, went back to her seat; Bakhshi Mohammad Hasan Khan unfurled her banner. There was a flourish of trumpets and the Secretary of the Order proclaimed aloud Her Highness's titles before the assembly, who had remained standing. Then all of us took our seats. Sir John Strachey was next dubbed a Knight Commander of the Star of India. The Durbar then broke up, and

the Viceroy took his departure under a salute of 31 guns. All the knights then left the Durbar, according to their seniority, and proceeded to the tents set apart for them, where they divested themselves of their robes, before returning to their respective residences.

Her Highness thanked His Excellency by a special communique* for the honour conferred on her. On Thursday, the 17th of Ramzan, the Viceroy honoured Her Highness with a return visit at her residence. A salute was fired from the fort and the usual ceremonies of reception were gone through. In this Durbar, the relations and the officers who had accompanied Her Highness to Bombay were present, and they all offered "nazars" of gold mohars, which His Excellency was good enough to touch and to remit. He said, "Your Highness has been put to inconvenience by making this journey in the month of Ramzan. If I had known about it I would have held the Durbar when the days of fasting were over." His Excellency continued his conversation in the

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*See Appendix No. 24.

same gracious manner, and about other matters also. After this Her Highness asked His Excellency's permission to visit Surat and Ahmedabad; and as the climate of Bombay did not suit her, she wished to leave the city as soon as possible. His Excellency expressed his regret at the uncongeniality of the climate and granted her request. Then with her own hands she presented His Excellency with attar-pan and garlanded him. The same ceremony was observed for the two Members of the Council and the two Agents to the Governor-General, namely, the Agents for Central India and Rajputana, all of whom were present at that time. The rest of His Excellency's party received attar-pan at the hands of the Nawab Sahib.

While in Bombay, Her Highness visited some important places and also went on board some of the steamers in the harbour.

From Bombay Her Highness proceeded to Surat, with the whole party. Here the local officers received Her Highness and Mulla Najmuddin, head of the Borah Community, entertained her at dinner. Her Highness visited the ladies of the Mulla Sahib's zenana.

She then drove round the city and visited the old fort. After staying a day and night at Surat, Her Highness started for Ahmedabad, where she was received by the Judge, and the Deputy Commissioner, of the District. Her Highness stayed here for two days. She was also entertained at dinner by the Deputy Commissioner. She saw the Fort, the Temple, the Juma Masjid, the Mausoleum of Ahmed Shah and the famous seven storied well, all situated in Ahmedabad.

On her return from Ahmedabad Her Highness stayed in Bombay for four days and on the 28th Ramzan she started for Bhopal, reaching Budhni on the morning of the 29th, where a halt of two days was made. The Id prayers were offered in this place. Travelling by easy stages, we reached Bhopal on the 8th Shauwal.

Second visit to Calcutta.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was to visit India about the end of 1875, and it was announced that he would hold an Investiture Ceremony at Calcutta, to which all Members of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India had been invited. Her Highness accepted the invitation and, as a preparatory

step, sent a large number of servants, with all the heavy luggage to Calcutta, a few days before her departure, which was fixed for the 7th Ziqad 1292 A.H. (6th December 1875). Her Highness was accompanied by myself, Nawab Walajah, Nawab Sultan Dula, and several other Sirdars of the State. Stage by stage Her Highness's party reached Itarsi on the fifth day; and from here we started for Calcutta by special train, reaching there on the 6th Ziqad (5th December). An A.D.C. to the Viceroy and the Under Secretary to the Government of India came to Howrah Station to receive Her Highness and conducted us to a closed carriage. The Nawab Walajah sat in another carriage with the Under Secretary and an A.D.C. Government had engaged a very fine house for our stay and furnished the rooms to be occupied by Her Highness; but the decorations of the big room meant for our Darbar Hall were carried out by Bhopal officers, with the necessary help of our Toshakhana. We were Government guests, and throughout our stay of about a month, we received the most lavish hospitality at the hands of the Imperial Government.

Soon after 10 a.m., on the 24th Ziqad (23rd December), Her Highness accompanied by Nawab Walajah, Nawab Sultan Dula, the Madar-ul-Muham and other dignitaries of the State, paid a visit to His Excellency the Viceroy. His Excellency's A.D.C. and a Secretary, had come to our residence to conduct us to the Government House. On our arrival at the Government House the Military Secretary and the Under Secretary welcomed Her Highness at the gate and conducted her to the grand staircase. The Guard of Honour presented arms and a salute of 19 guns was fired from the fort. The Chief Secretary received Her Highness at the head of the stair-case and conducted her to the Durbar hall where His Excellency, advancing a few steps, met Her Highness and led her to a chair to his right. The Political Agent sat to Her Highness's right, while the eight Sirdars sat to his right. Her Highness presented a nazar, of 151 gold mohurs, which was touched by His Excellency and remitted. After a short conversation between His Excellency and Her Highness, the Political Agent presented Her Highness's Sirdars,

one by one, to the Viceroy, each of whom presented His Excellency a nazar of one gold mohur, which was touched and remitted. The Viceroy then presented "attar pan" to Her Highness, while the Secretary and Under Secretary acted similarly towards the Sirdars in attendance upon Her Highness. The same formalities were observed at the departure as were observed on Her Highness's arrival. His Excellency paid return visit the same day, in the afternoon, when the ceremonies in connection with the reception of His Excellency were duly observed.

His Royal Highness was expected in Calcutta the same day. All the Princes, Chiefs, Sirdars and Officials had gone to the river-side to receive His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. His Excellency had very kindly excused Her Highness from being present at the landing-ghat, and had asked her to await His Royal Highness's arrival at the Government House, in company with his daughter. My mother met His Royal Highness when he arrived at the Government House; salutations were exchanged, and mutual inquiries after health were made,

after which she returned to her residence.

A private audience was granted to Her Highness next day at 12 noon, at the Government House, as His Royal Highness had wished to meet Indian Princes some time before the Investiture. The Chief Secretary, and a few Members of the Prince's Staff, came out some six hundred steps to welcome Her Highness on her arrival at the Government House. A Guard of Honour presented arms, at the gate, and a salute was fired from the fort. At the grand stair case the Foreign Secretary and the Under Secretary, went up to the carriage, and helped Her Highness to alight. They then conducted her to the Durbar hall, where His Excellency was seated, in full Court Dress. He advanced a few paces, shook hands with Her Highness, and made polite inquiries after her health. He also shook hands with me and talked about the hardship of the long journey we had undertaken. His Excellency similarly made inquiries about the Nawab Sultan Dulah. We all sat down in accordance with our right of precedence. Conversation was carried on for about ten minutes

after which the Foreign Secretary, the Under Secretary and the Political Agent conducted us to the room in which His Royal Highness was seated. He got up from his chair and stepped forward three or four paces to greet Her Highness. He shook hands with her and talked of the long journey undertaken by Her Highness. His Royal Highness then seated my mother on his right and after making polite inquiries about her health asked me to sit on his left. The other members of Her Highness's staff occupied the seats allotted to each.

His Royal Highness was most polite and gracious in his conversation and turning to me made the interesting remark that *he and I held similar positions*, for I was the Crown Princess of the State of Bhopal and he, the Crown Prince of England. "Attar pan" were then distributed and the audience came to an end.

His Royal Highness paid his return visit on the 29th December. Her Highness performed all ceremonies of welcome with great loyalty and devotion. His Royal Highness conversed most graciously on this occasion,

every word of which was full of Royal favour and kindness. His Royal Highness made a number of presents to my mother, and in return she gave some presents* to the Prince.

The Investiture Chapter of the Order of the Star of India was held on the 1st January 1876, with great magnificence and splendour, under a shamiana erected on the maidan, in front of the Government House. Her Highness was accompanied by eight Sirdars, two small pages and two maids of honour, who helped her into the robes of the Exalted Order. In the Durbar, Her Highness's seat was placed to the left of His Royal Highness, the other Knights coming after her, in order of precedence. The general arrangement of seats was according to the seniority of title holders. His Royal

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* *Presents made by the Prince of Wales to Her Highness*:—A golden picture frame; A Diamond Ring; The Queen's Photograph framed in gold; Chain of gold; Chair of gold; Photograph of the Princess of Wales, framed in gold; A seal.

Presents made by the Begam to His Royal Highness:—A gun made in Bhopal; An Indian sword; A Shield; A Round cap worked in gold thread; A Silver scent box inlaid with gold; A comb; A pair of Earrings; Ear ornaments; A Handkerchief embroidered by Her Highness; A Chair carved by Her Highness; One copy of the History of Bhopal; One copy of "Tuhfai-Shah-Jhani"; and an English Translation of Nawab Secunder Begum's "History of Mecca."

Highness invested with his own hands the new recipients of titles, both Indians and Europeans. After this Durbar, Her Highness stayed for a few days in Calcutta, and then started, with all her retinue, on her return journey to Bhopal.

Visit to Dehli and the Imperial Assemblage.

Her Highness went to Delhi, to attend the Imperial Durbar of 1876, on the 7th Ziqad 1293 A.H., (the 13th December, 1876). Besides the Nawab Walajah, Nawab Sultan Dulah and the Madar-ul-Muham and myself, Her Highness was accompanied by a large number of her Sirdars and Officers. Previous to our departure Her Highness's body-guard, and other camp followers, had started for Delhi, in two divisions, one after the other. After four days' travelling by road our party reached Itarsi, from where we started for Delhi by special train. At Hoshangabad, on our way to Itarsi, the Commanding officer of the local brigade, and other European officials of the district, came out to receive us. On our way to Delhi our train stopped at Jubbulpore, Allahabad and Aligarh Railway stations. There was a public entry in Delhi. The Commissioner of Delhi, representing His

Excellency the Viceroy, two Secretaries of the Government of India, and several other Europeans came to receive us at the Railway Station. The Guard of Honour, composed of European soldiers, presented arms, and a salute was fired from the fort as Her Highness alighted from the train. Our Camp had been pitched on a triangular piece of land near Azadpore, which was most happily situated, both as regards climate and beauty of natural scenery. His Excellency Lord Lytton arrived in Delhi on the 24th December. All the Chiefs, Ruling Princes, and European and Indian Officers were present on the platform, to accord him an official welcome. His Excellency had, out of great kindness, excused Her Highness from attendance at the Railway Station, owing to her observance of purdah, and as there was likely to be a great rush and much discomfort; but our State officials were present at the station. Her Highness paid her official visit to His Excellency on the 27th December. Eight Sirdars accompanied her to the Government House during the visit. The usual ceremonies of welcome were

gone through. His Excellency inquired after Nawab Mohammad Nasrullah Khan's health, and expressed his great surprise at my having undertaken the trouble of the long journey to Delhi within such a short time of the birth of my son. His Excellency was much delighted at the fact that nothing had come in the way of Her Highness's attending the Imperial Durbar. Continuing further, His Excellency said he had heard a great deal of Her Highness's august mother, and was also aware of the honours and dignities conferred on her; and had enjoyed reading Nawab Secunder Begum's account of her travels in Arabia, so kindly sent to him by Her Highness, and that he had gratefully accepted the book as a present from her. He further said that he was connected with a literary family of England; that his whole life had been spent in the company of scholars, and savants. His Excellency therefore hoped that Her Highness would accept from him his praise, which the book justly deserves, as being sincere.

When His Excellency had finished speaking the royal banner, so graciously sent by Her Majesty the Queen Empress for

presentation to Her Highness, on the occasion of the Durbar, was brought in and planted in front of His Excellency's dais. As soon as it was unfurled, His Excellency came down from the dais and conducting Her Highness to it, spoke thus about its significance and importance :—

"This Royal banner is the emblem of that friendship and amity which exists between the State of Bhopal and the British Empire. In State processions this ensign should be carried with the Ruler of Bhopal, from generation to generation, and from reign to reign, in lieu of the old "Mahi Maratib."

His Excellency then presented a gold medal to Her Highness and said :—

"I have great pleasure in presenting this gold medal and the Ensign to your Highness, and I hope that you will always preserve them with feelings of respect and honour. I also hope that your Highness, and your successors, will look upon them as a memento of the friendship of the Imperial Sovereigns of India, and a souvenir of the Imperial Durbar, in which the Queen of England has added the title of "Empress of India" to



The Earl of Lytton.

(*Page* 218)

herself. Whenever this banner is unfurled, it will remind your Highness not only of the friendship that exists between the throne of England, and your royal and exalted House, but it will also bring to your mind the fact that it is the most earnest wish and desire of the Imperial British Government that your Highness's House may attain to great power and glory, and may endure for ever. It also gives me great pleasure to say that by command of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen and Empress of India, a salute of 17 guns, and official reception throughout the British Empire, have been conferred upon your consort."

His Excellency then shook hands with the Nawab-consort, and the happy visit came to an end.

His Excellency paid his return visit on the 28th December. On this occasion Her Highness presented two books to him, namely, an English translation of the "Tarikh Bhopal," and "Tazkira-e-Shama-e-Anjuman," (in Persian), and said that the latter was written by her husband. His Excellency accepted the "Tazkira" with the greatest

pleasure and offered his thanks to the Nawab Sahib. He inquired if any poems of the poet "Saadi" were included in this book, and was very pleased on being told that it did.

After this the usual "attar pan" was distributed and, according to the custom of the State, His Excellency was presented with a "dali" of fresh and dried fruits, a fan embroidered in gold, and a magnificent specimen of Indian embroidery. Small embroidered hand bags, filled with cardamoms, were given to each member of his staff. Her Highness called on Her Excellency Lady Lytton the same day, and was received by her, with great honour and respect. His Excellency also came into the room during the visit, and carried on a most interesting and delightful conversation, for a long time.

The memorable and grand Durbar, the golden precursor of many a Imperial Durbar in India, was held on the 1st January 1877. Accompanied by her Sirdars and officials, Her Highness started for the Durbar at 10 a.m. The Ruling Chiefs of India, the Representatives of Foreign Powers, and

high officials of the Government of India, had already assembled there. His Excellency the Viceroy read the proclamation about the assumption of the Imperial Title of "The Empress of India" by Her Majesty the Queen. And when it had been received, and acclaimed with full honours and salutes, His Excellency delivered a most eloquent speech.

Then the Rulers of the Indian States went up to His Excellency's dais, and paid their homage to the Viceroy. Her Highness also submitted her congratulation to the Queen Empress, through His Excellency. There was an Imperial State banquet in the evening. The Nawab Walajah attended it. When departing, His Excellency shook hands with the Nawab and sent his salutation to Her Highness, and asked him to inform her that he had cabled to Her Majesty the messages of congratulations which Her Highness, His Highness the Nizam and His Highness the Maharaja Scindhia had offered in the Durbar, on the assumption of the Imperial "Kaiser-i-Hind" title.

Her Highness paid a second visit to

Her Excellency on 2nd January, and Lady Lytton paid her return visit on the following day. The Nawab Sultan Dulah and the Madar-ul-Muham received Her Excellency, and the Nawab Walajah helped her to alight from the carriage. As a souvenir of the visit Her Excellency presented to Her Highness a diamond ring and a photograph of her self, and that of Lord Lytton. Her Highness, in return, presented Her Excellency with a gold embroidered fan, some ear ornaments, and gold laced garlands.

Another visit was paid to His Excellency, in the Viceregal camp, on the 4th January. During the course of this visit His Excellency presented to Her Highness, on behalf of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen Empress, a rapier, a sword and a belt in a box; and His Excellency also presented me, the Nawab Walajah, the Nawab Sultan Dulah and the Madar-ul-Muham, each with one Imperial Durbar Medal.

Her Highness called on the Nizam and the Ladies of His Highness's Household, during the Durbar days, at the Nizam's Camp and the Nizam returned her visit by

coming over to our camp, accompanied with the great Sir Salar Jung. We had also opportunities of making the acquaintance of high Government Officials, and many European ladies and gentlemen, during our stay in Delhi.

Her Highness left the camp after the Durbar, as it was too cold to stay there, and took up her quarters at the "Zinat Mahal," for a few days. A separate house was engaged for Her Highness's retinue. During our stay we visited all the places of historical importance in Delhi, and read the prescribed verses from the Koran (Sura-i-Fatehà), at the tomb of many a saint.

Her Highness left Delhi on the 22nd January and reached Agra the next day, where she was accorded an official reception. She stayed in Agra for a week. Many European officials, and their wives, called on Her Highness. Most of the famous buildings, in and round about the city, were also visited. We left Agra on the 29th January and reached Bhopal, *via* Cawnpore, on the 3rd February.

An Investiture Ceremony of the Order

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Third visit to Calcutta—Investiture Chapter.

of Star of India was to be held in Calcutta, in 1882. His Excellency Lord Ripon had invited Her Highness to attend it. She started for Calcutta on the 23rd February. We had with us, this time, Sahibzadi Bilqis Jehan Begum, Nawab Mohammad Nasrullah Khan, Colonel Sahibzada Obedullah Khan and Sahibzadi Asif Jahan Begum.

We took train at Itārsi and reached Calcutta on the morning of the 2nd March. We were accorded the customary reception. Her Highness met Lord Ripon at the Government House, the same day, at four in the afternoon. His Excellency paid return visit on the 6th March. We met Lady Ripon several times during our stay in Calcutta. Her Highness visited several places of importance, and the many famous public institutions of the great city of Palaces. She also met His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and several other high officials there. After a stay of about a fortnight, we returned to Bhopal.

Fourth visit to Calcutta.

Her Highness started for Calcutta, with a small party, on the 8th March 1886, to pay a

visit to His Excellency Lord Dufferin. She stayed there till the 6th April. Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Dufferin acted as ideal hosts, and Her Highness met them twice. His Excellency sent a special invitation to Sahibzadi Bilqis Jahan Begum, who had accompanied Her Highness to Calcutta, to attend the Flower Show. His Excellency said to her " Although I was not well I have left my bed for half an hour for your sake." The Sahibzadi offered her thanks for the great kindness shown to her by the Viceroy. Lady Dufferin afterwards took the Sahibzadi to the Zoological Gardens. Her Highness returned to Bhopal on the 7th April, after having stayed in Calcutta for 25 days.

Mr. Durrand, the Foreign Secretary, who was an old friend of our family, came to see us and was most kind to us during our stay in Calcutta.

Visit to Simla.

Her Highness left for Simla on the 21st September 1893, to pay a visit to His Excellency Lord Lansdowne. The Wazir, Mian Alamgir Mohammad Khan, and Mian Nur-ul-Hasan Khan accompanied Her High-

ness on this journey. As the entry was public, so the usual salute was fired. Official visits were paid to, and by His Excellency, in due form. Her Highness held a large dinner party in honour of Her Excellency, Lady Lansdowne.

Her Highness also met here with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. She saw all the important sights of Simla, and once went to the race-course also. On her return journey to Bhopal, Her Highness made small halts at Lahore, Delhi and Agra.

Visit to Cawnpore.

When His Excellency Lord Lansdowne was going to Calcutta from Simla, in November 1897, Her Highness went to Cawnpore to meet His Excellency at the Railway Station. It was a purely friendly visit. After staying at the station for a few hours, Her Highness returned to Bhopal.



H. H. Nawab Shahjehan Begam.

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CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF HER LATE HIGHNESS; HER LITERARY OUTPUT; DOMESTIC CEREMONIES; LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH.

Her Highness was of small stature, rather inclined to stoutness. She possessed a commanding voice, but conversed in a very sweet tone; and her talk was always polite, interesting, and never desultory. She was full of life and activity; and being witty herself, appreciated wit in others. **Her appearance and talk.**

As a child she was never negligent of her lessons. Endowed with a good memory and an acute intelligence, she soon gained proficiency in Persian and Urdu, and finished reading the Quran quite early in life. She was also good at her sums and was very fond of music and poetry. This last quality she had inherited from her father, **Early Life.**

though her mother, the late Nawab Secunder Begum, was not partial to the muses. She was too practical to spin poems. But music and poetry did not take up all my mother's time. She had also inherited her mother's practical bent of mind, and the great Begum had given her daughter a full education in domestic economy, and a thorough training in household duties. After her daily lessons she could be seen engaged either in needlework, or cooking her own food, or dusting or cleaning, or arranging some of her household articles. On occasions, one found her sitting, surrounded by a number of girls of her own age, talking to them a thousand little points of household duties and of domestic management; for she always showed the keenest interest in her household work. Her love of fancy needlework she retained to the last. She always had a number of girls in the palace with the sole object of teaching them embroidery; and herself initiated them into the mystry of needlecraft. Besides paying these girls decent salaries, she awarded prizes and presents in money to such among them who showed special aptitude and cleverness in

embroidery work, meant for presents to Imperial Princes touring in India, or to the successive Viceroys, and many highly placed British officials. Many of these embroideries were the work of her own hands; and were fine examples of her needlecraft, *combining the ornamental and the useful, showing clearly the type of her mind.*

After her accession, whatever time she could spare from her onerous duties, she used to spend in a variety of ways. Sometimes she would walk out, in mornings and evenings, to the "Ali Manzil" gardens, for her recreation, and on her way inspect the buildings, under construction, in Shahjehanabad. **Mode of Life.**

In general, her mode of life resembled those of the Indian Begums of olden times; but unlike them she was very fond of plain living. As a rule, her dress consisted of a "kurta," reaching nearly to her knees, a tight fitting skirt, and she covered her head and body with a long piece of fine muslin. She was never fond of silken dress, and seldom wore heavy ornaments, except a few jewelled bracelets. In place of shoes she

used to put on soft velvet slippers. Though a Begum, and a Ruler in her own right, she led a very simple life.

Her Diet Her diet used to be as simple as her life. But to her guests she always gave most sumptuous dinners, befitting her high rank; and her table used to be laden with the rarest delicacies. She liked small tasty dishes of meat and vegetables; and as she was an expert in culinary art, she occasionally used to prepare her own dishes in her kitchen. Her staple food consisted of bread, meat, "chutneys," and the well-known "Sukhvan" rice of Bhopal. She took her food only twice a day; and generally sat to breakfast or dinner with her female companions, and seldom took her food alone at her table. She was neither fond of tea, nor of early breakfast. She liked fresh fruit very much; and baskets of them were brought to the palace every day from the different gardens round about the city, which she used to distribute among her friends and companions. Betel leaf and "gutka" were her special delight, and she used to take both in large quantities. The "gutka" she ate was

of very high quality—and prepared at great cost. Water for her drinking purposes used to be brought from the well in the "Nishatafza" garden. She always avoided drinking water from the lake.

But though simple in her life, she was the most dignified person amongst her peers and Rulers. Nothing could surpass the splendour and dignity of her Durbars; and on State occasions, and high festivities during Viceregal visits, her magnificent receptions greatly enhanced the name and fame of Indian States. To say that she never let the prestige of her State go down in the eyes of her great guests is to mention the fact in a negative way. It was ever her wish and pleasure to succeed both as a hostess and a Ruler, and she performed both her duties to perfection in the eyes of her contemporary Rulers, and the successive Representatives of the British Crown, who came to rule India during her time.

Her Religious Life.

My mother was very regular and strict in the performance of her religious duties. She never missed any of her daily prayers. Friday prayers she generally said in her palace mosque. As for the prayers on the occasions

of the two "Ids," she used to go to the *I'dgah.* Sometimes she would invite learned men to deliver discourses on religious subjects and listen to their words most attentively. In this, she resembled the great Moghul Emperor Akbar. Her Highness used to fast during the whole of the Ramzan month, year after year, and if, through some reason or other, she missed any fast, she made up the deficiency later on. As a rule she spent most of her time in this holy month in reading the Quran. The fear of God was always present in her heart and she spent her life as "ever in her Great Task Master's eye." Tears would flow from her eyes when listening to the Quranic description of the Day of Judgment.

During her last illness, when she had lost all hope of recovery, she caused a public proclamation to be made in the following words: "*If during my reign of thirty-three years I have, knowingly or unknowingly, done any injury to any person, I beg of him, or her, to forgive me, in the name of God the Merciful.*" This was done simply for fear of rendering her account on the last day of Judgment—so great was the fear of God in her

heart. Two or three years before her death, when signs of drought began to appear, and terrible famine loomed ahead, and the mind of the public was much disturbed at the unhappy prospect, Her Highness at once ordered special prayers to be offered to the Almighty; and herself walked on foot in blazing heat, from the palace to the I'dgah, to join in the public prayers, and offered her supplications with great earnestness and devotion. Owing to certain unforeseen circumstances; and grave matters of State, Her Highness could never perform the "Hajj;" but she was most eagerly waiting for an opportunity; and in spite of being much afraid of a sea voyage, she had a firm intention to go as a pilgrim to Mecca and Medina.

Her Highness was most scrupulous in giving away her "*Zakat*—" the prescribed charity—from her own privy purse, as well as from the money in the State treasury. She distributed *gratis* thousands of copies of the holy Quran and other religious books, printed either in the State Press or bought from some publishers outside.

Her Generosity.

God had endowed Her Highness with

the quality of generosity to the very highest degree. She was always in search of opportunities to bestow her charity on deserving people. In family festivities, and in the changes and chances of this mortal life, she used to assist most liberally her relatives, dependents, servants and also her subjects. Her Minister had a fixed amount every year to spend in assisting the poor, but respectable, travellers passing through Bhopal. To the merchants and traders Her Highness used to give not only what was due to them, but used to pay some amount over and above the prices of their articles bought ; and then she used to reward them also for their trouble in coming to her palace to sell their merchandise.

Books printed at her expense.

She took a special interest in the publication of books on theology and religion ; and most nobly and liberally assisted in the publication and printing of rare and valuable manuscripts, which had been all but lost to the world of learning. The "Neel-ul-Autar," "Jila-ul-Aihain," "Fath-ul-Bari" and the "Sharaeh-i-Saheeh Bukhari," were some of the most unique and priceless books reclaimed for the world by Her Highness' generosity,

especially the "Fath-ul-Bari" which is a work of such utility that its printing and publication was most urgently needed.

Her donations to Educational Institutions.

Her Highness also paid large contributions to modern educational institutions like the Delhi College, the Daly College in Indore, and to the Mahommadan College, at Aligarh. The late Sir Sayed Ahmed once came to Bhopal with a deputation. This was the time when Sir Syed and his Colleagues had become the target of the attacks of the orthodox party amongst the Mahommadans. In those days some pamphlet or other used to be published practically every day declaring Sir Syed to be an infidel, a renegade and even an atheist! His colleagues also were not immune from such harassing treatment. Her Highness was under the influence of very conservative Ulemas. It is to be regretted that at that time Aligarh College did not get the help which it deserved, or which Her Highness was capable of giving it. Nevertheless a sum of rupees ten thousand was contributed to the college mosque fund. Still, the donation meant a good deal for the College in those days.

Her many public charities.

During one of her visits to Calcutta, Her Highness gave to a Muslim student his full expenses to qualify himself for the Bar in England, and also gave a donation to the fund for building a hostel for Indian students in England. She gave away large sums of money to the hospitals in Simla, Bombay and Calcutta; and most lavishly paid large sums for the wounded and disabled soldiers of France and Russia in the war of 1870, as also to the widows of the soldiers killed in the Afghan war.

In 1296 A. H. Her Highness gave a hundred thousand rupees, from her privy purse, to the fund started to help the wounded Ottoman soldiers, and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey conferred upon Her Highness the first class of the Medjidieh Order, and sent her his *firman** through the Government of India.

Donations to Famine Relief Funds of Various Provinces and Overseas.

I have described in a previous chapter, the help which Her Highness rendered to her subjects in the dark days of famine and scarcity in the State. But Her Highness' liberality was not limited to her own subjects.

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* A copy of this firman is given in Appendix No. 25.

She spent large amounts in helping the famine-stricken people of Ireland, Madras and Northern India. Her Highness gave a very large sum to help the poor during the great famine of 1874, in Bengal. For this His Excellency Lord Northbrooke sent a special *Kharita* of thanks to Her Highness, on the 8th July 1874, in which it was mentioned that *Her Majesty the Queen personally eulogized the generous help given by Her Highness to the poor famine-stricken people of Bengal.*

Similarly she came to the assistance of the people of Madras in the famine of 1877, for which the Committee of Management sent their thanks to Her Highness. The same year Her Highness maintained, at her own cost, about 1,500 famine-stricken people of the Gwalior State, about which the Political Agent in his note, dated the 26th October 1877, writes:

"The Agent to the Governor-General in Central India has been much pleased to learn of the maintenance given by Her Highness to 1,500 famine-stricken people, of the Gwalior territory, by opening up relief works

in her State. Full information of this was submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy."

Her Highness opened a "*Langer Khana*" (feeding booths for the poor) as a permanent institution of the State. Moreover, *large quantities of grain were daily distributed gratis among the poor of Bhopal and its suburbs*. Even the prisoners in the jail were not forgotten by Her Highness. In the month of Ramzan, when Muslim prisoners observed fasts, they were given excellent food, on behalf of Her Highness, in the evening. As a general rule, Her Highness used to send out daily, during the month of Ramzan, trays full of the most exquisite delicacies and cardamoms and other spices to her relations, friends and dependents, at considerable cost to herself. Beautiful earthen pots and jars, made at Amroha, Lucknow and Moradabad were also sent with these; and sweets of all kinds and qualities were not omitted. "Sherbets," and a large quantity of cooked dishes, were supplied to all mosques, at State expense, for the congregation to break their fasts during Ramzan.

Her freedom from religious bigotry.

I have already spoken about the religious toleration granted to all her subjects in a previous chapter. It may be repeated here that my mother held the Bourbon Christians of Bhopal in high respect. Madame "Dulhin," the Bourbon lady, was her constant companion. In her Court Hindus also occupied exalted posts, and shared Her Highness's liberality and magnanimity, equally with her Mohamadan officials and nobles. Her Highness established the "Sadavarat" department, especially for the Hindus, where rations were supplied gratis to poor and indigent Hindu travellers, while pilgrims were also given money for expenses on their way. Rations, stipends and pensions were given to poor Hindus just as much as to her Muslim co-religionists. In a word there was not a shade of bigotry in her nature.

Her Tenacity of Purpose.

Her Highness was of a fixed bent of mind. When once she formed her own opinion about a subject, she stuck to her idea with such tenacity that it was impossible for her to change her mind even if she wished. Witness the case of those of us who came under her displeasure. It was also foreign to

her nature to give a man credit for honesty when she knew him to be bad ; nor she could ever be made to discard a person when she knew him to be honest. And when once she decided to do a thing Her Highness could never rest, until her wishes were completely fulfilled. Take the case of Nawab Siddiq Hasan. Her Highness was made to believe, by interested parties, that the Nawab was absolutely innocent, and that the forfeiture of his title and salute was the result of the intrigues and machinations of his enemies, who had brought false charges and baseless accusations against him, out of sheer spite and jealousy. And she did all that lay in her power to remove these charges preferred against him. In this she was forced to take up hostile attitude against Sir Leppel Griffin. Even after his departure from Central India, Her Highness persisted in her efforts to draw the attention of his successor to this matter. Moreover, she went up to Simla, to see Lord Dufferin (whose Government had dealt with the Nawab's matter), and left no stone unturned to establish the complete innocence of the Nawab

Sahib; and even after his death she went on pleading his case, until at last Lord Lansdowne, out of sympathy and regard for Her Highness's feelings, sanctioned the use of the words "the late Nawab Sahib, husband of the Ruler of Bhopal" in official documents and correspondence, whenever a reference had to be made to his name; and formal orders were issued to this effect.

Her Literary output.

My mother was of a literary bent of mind—she was not all a hard headed Ruler.

Like her father, Her Highness had a special liking for poetry. And like all poets and poetesses the development of her literary art was gradual. The first nom-de-plume she adopted was "Sheerin," which, later on, she changed into "Tajvar". Two collections of her poems have been published under the name of "Taj-ul-Kalam" and "Diwan-i-Sheerin". There is not the least doubt that her literary standard was very high and that she did write good poems; but I seriously doubt if all the poems contained in these volumes were her own composition. She had neither the time, nor such turn of mind, as to have composed so many second

rate poems as are to be found in these two books. All available evidence points to the fact that some favourite persons, who had access to her, composed these inferior pieces in her name and inserted their own composition in her book! It is quite possible that Her Highness never saw these books. May be, she generously overlooked what they had done.

The Sidq-ul-Bayan.

In her series of poems, called the "Sidq-ul-Bayan," Her Highness has described something about astronomy, in accordance with ancient belief, the causes of the change in climate due to the influence of stars; and the formation of the Earth and its vegetation. Then follows a description of India, its mineral wealth, its fauna and flora, its seasons and their influence on human life. The book also contains a full account of Indian fairs and holidays, such as Dashera, Basant, Holi, etc.; and of the recreations and games suited to each season. The poem then goes on to give an account of the battle between the Emperor Taimoor (Tamerlane) and Raja Pethora, and Taimoor's success, his celebration of the victory and his system of government. There is also an account of the Em-

perors Babar and Shahjehan, of the ancient buildings of Delhi, its populations, gardens, and a full description of the festivals of the month of Shravan and Holi. The book occupies quite a high place as regards its literary merit, and general poetic technique. But I am of opinion if all this intellectual labour had been used in putting down useful knowledge in plain prose, it would have caused much useful addition to the general information of the readers.

The Tajul Iqbal.

Her second book the "Taj-ul-Iqbal" is a well-known historical work. It deals with the history of Bhopal, from the days of the founder of the State, Sirdar Dost Mohammad Khan, down to the early years of Her Highness's own rule. This book contains a complete account of my predecessors from 1120 A.H. A few appendices are given in the end, containing information about the history of the Mirazi Khel Clan, the various officers and dependents in the State, a list of jagirs, their census tables and of the land assessment of parganahs, a short account of bigger villages, and of the historic forts in the State, as also an account of the cultivation of the

land, its crops and the fruits of the urban and suburban gardens. This book has already been translated into English, Persian and Marathi languages.

"Tahzib Niswan" or "Tarbiat-ul-Atfal."

The marginlally-noted book is of the greatest help and assistance to Indian ladies in teaching them their household work and domestic economy. It extends over 475 closely printed pages, and is written in a very simple and interesting style. *It is the first "Woman's Encyclopedia" ever printed in India.* It deals with ailments peculiar to women, and their remedies; wise motherhood; the diseases of children and their simple, indigenous remedies; and certain ceremonies connected with early infancy and other festivities. Indian dress-making and cookery are also treated in this work. Then follow the invocation of saints, and of spirits. The book includes chapters on the training and bringing up of children and about wise parenthood, and how to make the house beautiful. The chapters on oriental ornaments and jewellery and the colouring and dyeing of clothes, their embroidery and needle work, is very interesting. For general in-

formation a chapter is given on marriage, the rights of women, on divorce and separation, and on "iddat" (*i.e.*, period of waiting after divorce or death). The burial ceremonies and customs connected with mourning and condolence are all described in detail. Then follows a chapter on visiting the graves of holy persons, supported by authoritative and apt quotations from the Qu'ran and the holy traditions. This book deserves to be read and acted upon by all women who can read and write Urdu. Among all the works of Her Highness this book gained most popularity and several impressions of it were printed and distributed free of cost.

"Khazeennat-ul-Lughat."

This book is a dictionary. It gives the equivalents of nearly five thousand five hundred current words in six different languages, namely in Urdu, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, English and in Turkish. Urdu words have been written in the first column, in their alphabetical order, and their Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, English and Turkish equivalents placed opposite each word, in five different columns. English and Sanskrit words, besides being transcribed in Persian charac-

ters, have also been written in their own script.

How she treated her relatives.

Her Highness had a true affection for all her relatives, near or distant. She fixed large pensions and stipends for all of them, and in addition, granted big jagirs to those closely connected with her, by tie of blood. They always counted upon her for a continuous and unending series of presents and rewards. There was none in the ruler's family, young or old, who was not beholden to her generosity and liberality. To be a member of the royal family was sufficient claim in her eyes to be rewarded with a jagir or pension. She always participated in their pleasures, grieved in their sorrows, and never hesitated to give her relatives help and assistance, when necessary.

Those of us under her displeasure.

There were, of course, a number of persons who had been brought under her displeasure, by the machinations of interested people. Of such, among her near relatives were the Nawab Qudsia Begum, myself, and the members of my family, all of whom were deprived of that happiness and peace of mind which could be derived from Her Highness's love and

affection for us. Bilqis Jehan Begum was the only child of mine who had succeeded in becoming the centre of love and devotion to her grand mother. All her affections and riches were freely lavished on this, my child ; but, by God's will, she was taken away from amongst us at an early age. Her illness sprinkled fresh salt on the wounds caused by our domestic disagreements and unpleasantness ; and may God save every person from the pain and sorrow I had to undergo in those days ! I have no desire to recapitulate the events that happened during the long period of 27 years, in which I remained under the displeasure of my mother; nor do I propose to set down the causes of these family disagreements ; because I occupy the position of a party to the quarrel. I am trying to entirely forget the past. I have written all that I wanted to write about it in the "Tuzk-i-Sultani", and that too, under the influence of feelings which are bound to arise when narrating these circumstances. Were a capable critic ever to examine these events, which deserve to be totally forgotten, he will trace their

sources quite easily. But I trust such a one will spare himself the trouble of raking up old forgotten family feuds. Let us turn now to the more cheerful aspect of her life.

Family Festivities.

Her Highness's magnanimous heart induced her to spend lavishly for others, and she was very fond of celebrating family festivities and enjoyed taking part in them. Her Highness usually met all the costs of her relatives' marriages. On all such occasions her generosity ever took a fresh form. The arrangement and management of these festivities were her speciality. The innovations of her creative mind imparted newness to the ways of celebrating these social festivities, and the guests used to be agreeably surprised on each occasion. I propose to give here a very short account of only few such ceremonies.

My "Nashra Ceremony."

The first big ceremony of her reign, in our family, was my own "Nashra," held to celebrate the occasion when I had read through the holy Qu-ran. She performed this ceremony with great *eclat*; and spent large sums of money on it. Nawab Qudsia Begum had performed the "Nashra" of Nawab Secunder

Begum, and Nawab Secunder Begum that of my mother, with all oriental pomp and ceremony. My "Nashra" festivities began on the 17th Mohurrum 1288 A.H. and continued right up to the 11th Rabi-ul-Auwal. The dignitaries of the State and members of the royal family brought presents and robes of honour for me to the Shaukat Mahal. Each procession was accompanied with a band of Indian music. They were treated and feasted lavishly. All nobles, sirdars and officials, and even many of her subjects were not only entertained at dinner, but everybody received rich rewards and robes of honour. Poets who had composed odes and eulogies for the occasion were richly rewarded.

European friends and officials and members of the Agency Staff, who were acquainted with Her Highness, were entertained at dinner, and the most lavish hospitality was extended to them. All Bhopal was in great glee, and not a man could be found throughout the State who had not his share in thoroughly enjoying himself during all these days.

The city was illuminated for forty nights consecutively, and fireworks were displayed

every evening. Garden parties and meetings of friends were organised frequently during these days and the festivities ended by a grand garden party held in the "Nishat Afza" gardens on the last day.

The Hon. Major Daly, Agent to the Governor-General, in Central India, and the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces were also present during my "Nashra" festivities. The guests were housed in the building, now known as the Guest House. A beautiful camp had been erected near by, and a special structure of wood was built as dining hall for these honoured guests.

The darbar which assembled on the day of the actual Nashra was a most splendid one, and was attended by nobles, sirdars and dignitaries of the State, as well as by all her European and Indian guests. Her Highness delivered the following speech on this occasion :—

"I thank God that I was born in a family that has been noted for its loyalty and attachment to the Sovereign of England and India for generations past, and that we are living under the Dispenser of honour and dignity—

I mean Her Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress—who in recognition of the conspicuous loyalty and meritorious services rendered by the State has been pleased to raise its status, above those of larger and more important ones. Her Majesty has also very graciously shown a personal interest in us by adding new dignities to our position from time to time. I thank Major Daly, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, Colonel Edward Thompson, the officiating Political Agent, and all other ladies and gentlemen who have so kindly done Nawab Sultan Jehan and myself the honour of gracing this assembly with their presence, at considerable personal inconvenience and discomfort to themselves, in taking part in my daughter's "Nashra" ceremony. I am convinced that just as Her Majesty the Queen is interested in the continued existence and increasing honour and fame of my State, so are Her Majesty's representatives in this country ever desirous of adding to my honour and distinction, and are always pleased to learn of the daily increasing recognition of my loyalty and devotion, at the hands of the British Government.

My special thanks are due to the Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General, who at great sacrifice of his time and leisure, has helped me very kindly in making this ceremony the success that it has been.

In conclusion I pray God to keep me ever loyal and obedient to Her Majesty the Queen, and to enable me to maintain the proud traditions of my predecessors, and to help me and my children to render meritorious services to the Empire, that will bring fresh honours and renown to my house."

At the banquet she delivered another speech saying :—

"Through the kindness and mercy of God I have been made excessively happy to-day because you, ladies and gentlemen, for whom I have got a sincere regard, have come to Bhopal and placed me under a great debt of gratitude. Merely to oblige me you have postponed your pressing engagements, and have taken the trouble and discomfort of a long and wearisome journey to join our festivities, thereby adding splendour and dignity to this banquet, by gracing it with your presence. I have no words to fully and sufficiently express

my thanks to you. My only regret is that I have not been able to entertain you in a manner befitting your position, due to my absence from Bhopal on a tour in the eastern district, where I had gone to see for myself the condition of the people, entrusted to my charge by the Creator of us all.

I tried my best to finish the tour at the earliest possible date, yet I could not return home earlier. Had I been in Bhopal during the two months immediately preceding this banquet, I would perhaps have been able to show hospitality to my guests *according to my wishes and desires.* And had Mr. Edward Thompson not assisted me most kindly, and taken upon himself the responsibility of the banquet arrangements, I would not have succeeded in doing what little has been done at such short notice. I am sincerely grateful to him for his help. I now pray that God may grant increasing health, long life and prosperity to Her Majesty the Queen, and may my friends rise to the highest pinnacle of fame and glory, through the blessings of the reign of our Gracious Sovereign. And may I be fortunate enough to show such devotion and

loyalty to the Queen as would bring me greater honour and dignity. I shall be ever grateful to all my guests for the kindness they have shown me to-night by accepting my invitation."

The Hon'. Major Daly and the Political Agent made suitable replies in which they expressed their gratitude to Her Highness for the lavish hospitality shown to them and the other guests; and were profuse in their praises of the grandeur and magnificence of the ceremony held on that day. They also paid a high tribute to the sentiments of loyalty expressed by Her Highness and acknowledged them, with thanks, on behalf of the British Government.

My Marriage Ceremony.

The most important problem which Her Highness had before her mind's eye with regard to my future welfare was the question of selecting a suitable husband for me. With much delebration and foresight, and after having fully satisfied herself on all points, Her Highness selected from the Jalalabad family Ahmad Ali Khan (Nawab Ehtisham-ul-Mulk Ali Jah) for my future husband, and brought him to Bhopal and made very

elaborate arrangement for his education and training here. Her Highness had great affection and regard for him, and used to love him as her own son. As the formal engagement had not yet been announced, other offers of marriage were also under consideration. About the end of 1289 A.H. (beginning of 1873) Her Highness called together the members of her family and the high dignitaries of the State and held a consultation with them on this subject. All present spoke in favour of Her Highness's selection. The late Qudsia Begum Sahiba was also of my mother's opinion. The approval of the Government of India alone now remained to be obtained, and this was applied for, in a Kharita, backed by a communication in my own hand-writing, consenting to this selection. His Excellency Lord Northbrook was then Viceroy and Governor-General. Before according approval His Excellency asked his Agent in Central India to proceed to Bhopal and see me personally, with a view to obtain my consent by word of mouth. The Honourable the Agent to the Governor-General thereupon visited Bhopal for this purpose,

and obtained my personal consent to the proposed marriage, and having satisfied himself of the genuineness of the communication I had addressed to His Excellency, he talked with Her Highness, about other details of my marriage and then departed from Bhopal. His Excellency's *Kharita* approving my marriage with Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan, Ehtisham-ul-Mulk, Ali Jah Bahadur was received in due course. Her Highness now took in hand the preliminary arrangements of my matrimony. For a whole year some ceremony or other was performed on every holiday. The 23rd Zilhijj 1291 A.H. was fixed as the date of my marriage. Invitations were issued to Indian and European friends and also to all relations of Her Highness. Excellent arrangements were made, at each halting place, between Itarsi and Bhopal, for the comfort of her European guests; and, in the city itself, a huge camp was pitched for them in the big maidan of Jahangirabad, where all that could conduce to the comfort, happiness and recreation of the guests was provided for. The guests reached Bhopal before the date fixed for my marriage,

and entertainments began on a most liberal and grand scale. On the appointed date the whole army of the State, in its new and brilliant uniform, was drawn up in front of our palace. The band of the 22nd Regiment was also in attendance, and all the members of the family, and Sirdars, and dignitaries of the State sat assembled in the big hall. Slightly before the "Asar" (afternoon prayers) the European guests, both ladies and gentlemen, arrived in a procession. The guard of honour, drawn up in the palace square, presented arms on the arrival of the guests. The male members of the procession joined the assembly outside, while the ladies went in and sat with Her Highness, in her own room.

My Marriage Service.

The guard of honour presented arms when the bridegroom arrived. The mace-bearers, in their golden uniform, and with golden maces in their hands loudly heralded his approach. He was wearing, according to the custom of the State, the dress of honour presented to him by Her Highness, also a necklace of pearls; and a richly wrought Persian Sword hung from his jewelled

belt. He was then made to sit under a golden canopy, on a raised platform, covered with cloth of gold. Qazi Zain-ul-A'bideen Sahib who performed the marriage service began the solemn ceremony by asking, and receiving replies to, the usual questions, from the witnesses of the contracting parties. On our consent being announced, the whole assembly then shouted "Bismilla" with one accord and prayed to God Almighty for our happiness and prosperity. Finally, the Qazi Sahib gave the whole congregation his blessings.

The bridegroom came down from the platform, and as a mark of respect and reverence, went up to Nawab Amir-ul-Mulk Walajah to pay his respects. Rich presents were given to Qazi Saheb and to all the Moulvis who had officiated at the service. The relatives of my husband, and all his people who had come to Bhopal to take part in the ceremony, received costly and valuable gifts from Her Highness; while the title of "Nawab Nasirud Dowlah Sultan Dulah," and a jagir of Rs. 40,000 a

year was conferred on my husband for his household expenses.

The Chauthi or the Ceremony held on the Fourth day of the Marriage.

The "Chauthi" ceremony was held on the 25th Zilhij in "the Nishat Afza" garden. The whole army of the State with *the Mahi Maratib,* and the artillery was lined from the palace gate to the garden. Nawab Sultan Dulah arrived at the garden with this procession in due time, and the rites of Chauthi were forthwith performed, in all their detail. Her Highness's hospitality continued for good many days after my marriage, and series of dinners were given to every grade in society. Moreover, Her Highness sent presents to each and every aged person in her State, who could not be present in these rejoicings, and finally, she rounded off these festivities by getting all the orphan lads and poor girls in the State married at her own cost!

Her Highness also performed the ceremonies connected with the birth of my children the late Bilqees Jehan Begum, the late Nawab Mohammad Nasrullah Khan, the late General Mohammad Obaidullah Khan and the late Sahibzadi Asif Jehan Begum with due eclat.

"Nashra" Ceremony of Sahibzadi Bilqees Jehan Begum.

She was especially devoted to my daughter the late Sahibzadi Bilqees Jehan Begum who lived with Her Highness at her palace. Her Nashra ceremony, on finishing the "Surah i Baqara," and also on finishing the Quran, were celebrated with great pomp and considerable expenditure. Robes of honour were presented to all relatives and dependents, and numerous dinners and parties were given to celebrate the occasion.

In short, all possible arrangements that the large and magnanimous heart of my mother could devise, were made without the least thought as to their cost, whenever any ceremony had to be performed, in her family circle.

The Opening Ceremony of the Tajmahal Palace.

On the completion of the construction of the Tajmahal Palace, Her Highness held festivities *which lasted for over two years.* Robes of honour were conferred on all jagirdars and officials and other servants of the State, in the Capital as well as in the mofussil. The poor and the indigent were fed and clothed. Large dinner parties were given. Food was distributed to all the inhabitants of the town, and costly vessels in which the

food was sent to their houses, were also given away as souvenirs of the occasion. Women of all classes, rich and poor, were invited to the palace, and a series of entertainments and dinners were held for them, in honour of the occasion, and to each and every one of them costly ornaments and clothes were presented. All the servants and dependents of the palace received costly clothes, besides gold and jewelled ornaments. Ten thousands robes of honour were distributed in connection with this ceremony and, on this occasion, nearly seventy-seven thousand people were fed at the palace. Owing to the destruction of official papers it is not easy to say what exactly all these festivities must have cost, but it is surmised that nothing less than ten hundred thousand rupees must have been spent on them alone.

Bismillah Ceremony.

The " Bismillah Ceremony " of the late Mian Qadar Mohammad Khan, grandson of Her Highness' step-brother, was held with equal splendour. As our family had already come under her displeasure, all her love and affection were now shown to the children of Mian Dastgir Mohammad Khan, and on

those of Nawab Amir-ul-Mulk Walajah. It was by performing expensive ceremonies particularly for them, that my mother satisfied her craving for such festivities, and tried to derive what happiness she could by these means. For this ceremony coloured glass lamps were illuminated within a radius of about two miles of Tajmahal, and the whole place was lit up with lanterns, put upon posts at short distances. The roads were decorated with multi-coloured flags and buntings on both sides. The robe of honour presented by Her Highness to Mian Qadar Mohammad Khan was taken round in a procession on these roads in an open palanquin. The noblemen of the city who brought presents for Mian Qadar Mohammad Khan received rich robes of honour, worth thousands of rupees, from Her Highness. Dinners and festivities and feasts were held for weeks together for ladies and gentlemen at the palace. Poets who had written odes and eulogies for the occasion received most costly presents and rewards ; and the papers on which these eulogies were written were exchanged with currency notes, and the mouths of the poets were literally filled with pearls.

The Festival of Roses.

Her Highness once held a "Festival of Roses" in the "Nishat Afza" garden. Many beds of flowers in the garden were planted with rose bushes, and the other plants of the garden were made to look like rose trees; besides, artificial rose-bushes, in full bloom, were planted all over the garden grounds resembling as near to natural rose plants as possible. All who attended the festival wore rose coloured garments. The bungalow inside the garden was painted in rose colours, and the tents and the Shamiana used on the occasion were also dyed in the same colour. It was the "Carnival of Roses," and one saw pink colour everywhere.

Her Highness's Illness and Death.

About the end of Rabi-ul-Auwal 1318 A.H. a slight irritation was at first noticed on the left side within her mouth, but she paid no attention to it. After three or four days, when it began to give her trouble, she was forced to send for medical aid. The doctors diagnosed it to be a case of cancer of the mouth. Doctor Anderson, a famous medical practitioner of Lucknow, suggested its removal by means of surgical operation.

Doctor Dean, the Civil Surgeon of the Sehore Agency, agreed with Doctor Anderson. Her Highness at first expressed her willingness to get the operation performed, and preparations were made for the operation in one of the rooms of the palace; but, at the last moment, owing to mischievous people, creating doubts and suspicions in her mind, she changed her intention. Under the circumstances the Surgeons could do nothing. So the old medical treatment was continued as before. But the malady showed no signs of abatement, and after suffering much pain and great discomfort, Her Highness breathed her last, at 12-15 noon, on the 28th Safar 1319 A.H. (the 15th June 1901), at the age of 63. "Verily we are from Allah and unto Him we return." The news of Her Highness's death produced a terrible shock in the city, and there was much mourning and loud lamentation on all sides. There was not a single soul in the city, and indeed, in the whole State, that was not touched at this heart-rending calamity, and everybody shed tears for her. No sooner was I informed of the sorrowful news than I proceeded to the Taj-

mahal Palace. The whole place was enveloped in gloom. Every article there bore eloquent testimony to the impermanence of things material and the changes and chances of this mortal life. None but myself can realize the condition I was then in; and the agony I was passing through. It is impossible to describe it by word of mouth, nor can it be brought within the compass of written language.

I ordered arrangements to be immediately made for her funeral ceremony and burial. The funeral procession started in Islamic simplicity, at 4 p.m. for the Nishat Afza, which was Her Highness's favourite garden. The late Nawab Ehtisham-ul-Mulk Ali Jah, the late Nawab Mohammad Nasrullah Khan, the late General Obaidullah Khan, Mr. J. Lang, Political Agent, and men belonging to every class of society, followed her hearse to its last resting place. The long road from the Palace to the Nishat Afza was thronged on both sides with dense crowds of Her Highness's beloved subjects, who had assembled to pay their last tribute of respect and honour to their generous and large hearted Ruler. The Hon. Major Meade, then Agent to the Governor-General,

in Central India, had also arrived in Bhopal before the burial took place.

The funeral prayers were offered in the I'dgah. We buried her at eventide. His Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, Edward VII, and His Excellency the Viceroy sent most sympathetic messages of condolence to us. A Gazette Extraordinary of the Government of India was published on the 17th June 1901, which contained the following obituary notice of Her Highness:

"His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council has received with profound regret, intelligence of the death, on the 16th of June, of Her Highness Shahjehan Begum of Bhopal, Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and Member of the Imperial Order of the Crown of India. During the thirty-three years for which Her Highness ruled her State so worthily, in the footsteps of her predecessor Her Highness Secunder Begum of Bhopal, she administered her country with marked ability and success. She was distinguished for her liberality and benevolence, and was always conspi-

cuous for her zeal and fidelity to the interest of the paramount power. By Her Highness's death her people have lost a just and considerate Ruler, and the British Crown, one of its faithful feudatories."

No better eulogy of Her Highness could be written than my mother's obituary notice published by the Government of India.

CHAPTER I. (Page 5.)

APPENDIX I.

After the estrangement between Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan and Nawab Secunder Begum, the Nawab married a woman of no repute. Mr. Wilkinson, the then Political Agent, was a great personal friend of the Nawab and it was owing to his assistance that the latter succeeded in carrying through most of his projects, such as his marriage with this woman, who was only twelve years of age, when the Nawab married her in the fort of Raisen. To give him his due it must be said that the Nawab was a reputed poet and has also left a collection of his poems. "Doolah" was his pen-name and the collection of his poems is called "Deewan-e-Doolah".

APPENDIX II. (Page 14.)

The Nusrat Jung was a member of the distinguished clan of Mushti Khel, of Tirah. His ancestor, Bayazid Khan, was the first of his clan to migrate with his family to India. In consequence of his former relations with Bhopal he took up his residence here. It was a critical period in the history of Bhopal and Bayazid Khan's arrival, at such a juncture, was considered a providential help by Nawab Wazir Mohammad Khan.



H. R. H. The Prince of Wales, 1875.

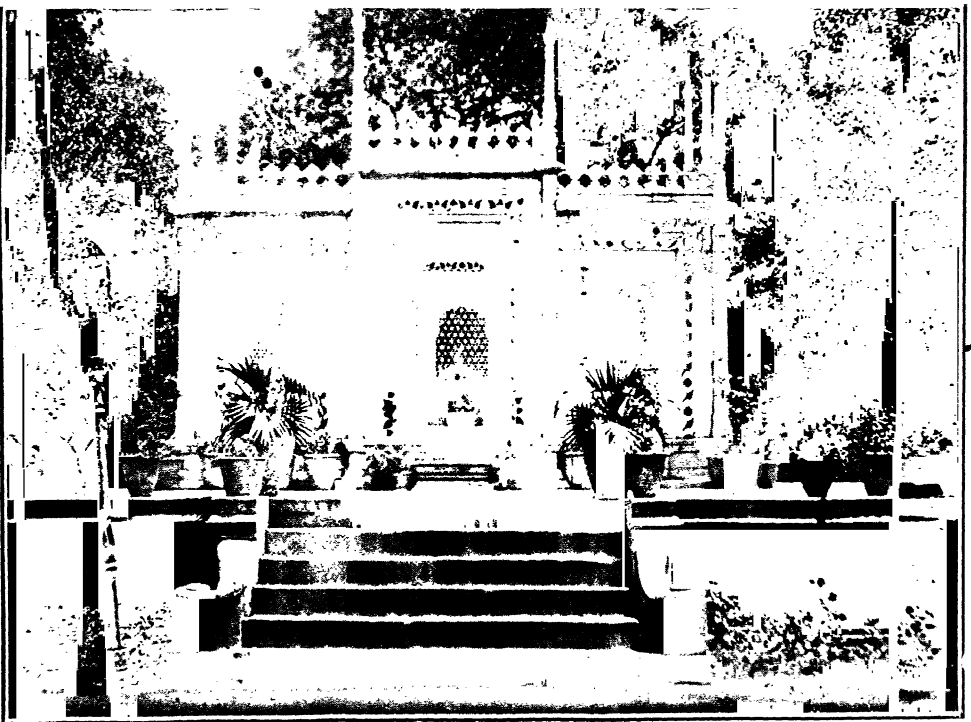
(*Page* 268)

Bayazid Khan was accompanied by his son Mohammad Khan, and two grandsons, Bahadur Mohammad Khan and Yar Mohammad Khan, all of whom received high commissions in the army of Nawab Wazir Mohammad Khan. In a very short time, the members of this family gave such signal proofs of their valour that they found favour in the eye of the then Nawab of Bhopal. Bayazid Khan and Mohammad Khan died a few years after their arrival, but Bahadur Khan and Yar Mohammad Khan continued to rise in the rank of their service. In 1812 when the then Scindia, reinforced by the Maharatta hordes, invaded Bhopal, Bahadur Khan gave proof of his dauntless courage and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy. He was now elevated to the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, in Bhopal, and a jagir was also conferred upon him. He spent his life in the service of Bhopal and every mark of respect was shown him for his meritorious services. On his death, Sadar Mohammad Khan, his eldest son, was appointed to succeed his father, but as he left no male issue, this high rank was conferred upon his younger brother Bakhshi Baqi Mohammad Khan, Nusrat Jung, in the reign of Nawab Secunder Begum. She had the fullest confidence in the ability, courage and loyalty of the members of this gifted family; and their high qualities had been put to test on many a occasion. It was these qualities which had attracted the kindness and generosity of Ruler after Ruler here towards this family. The Nawab was a man of handsome features, possessed of many high qualities of head and heart, as also of all

the skill and ability necessary for a Commander-in-Chief of the army of Bhopal.

APPENDIX III. (Page 23.)

To all whom it may concern. Be it known, that Nawab Shahjehan Begum, after the death of her beloved father, Nawab Jehangir Mohammad Khan, was on the 4th December 1846 A.D., with the sanction of the Government of India, proclaimed Ruler of the State of Bhopal, and her mother, Nawab Secunder Begum, was appointed Regent during her minority; and when Nawab Shahjehan Begum attained majority on the 20th July 1859, Major Hutchinson, the Political Agent in Bhopal, was instructed to inquire of her if she wished to take the direction of affairs in her hands or not, to which she replied that she surrendered, of her own free will, the supreme authority to Nawab Secunder Begum, so long as she lived. Subsequently Nawab Shahjehan Begum addressed a letter *pro forma* on the 13th of December 1859, to Sir Richmond Shakespear, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, that it was proper for the British Government to grant to Nawab Secunder Begum two boons, namely, the dignity of Regency for her, and the recognition of Heir apparentship for her daughter, Nawab Shahjehan Begum; and this letter was communicated to the Government, and His Excellency the Governor-General instructed his Agent for Central India to publish to the people, officers, and nobles of Bhopal that



Tomb of Shahjehan Begam.

(Page 270)

Nawab Secunder Begum was recognised as Ruler during her lifetime, and Nawab Shahjehan Begum, as her Heir-Apparent, and the succession was confirmed to her issue, and the British Government pledged itself to uphold this arrangement. Therefore a proclamation to this effect was issued from the office of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India on the 17th December 1859 A.D. and Nawab Secunder Begum, according to the written agreement of Nawab Shahjehan Begum, with the sanction of the Government, was made Ruler of the State of Bhopal, on the 1st of May 1860, and remained Ruler with a high character for justice and administration up to the day of her death. Now whereas on the 30th October of this year Nawab Secunder Begum departed from this mortal life, as has been reported to Government, the Government has a second time sanctioned the appointment of Nawab Shahjehan Begum as the rightful Ruler of Bhopal and her daughter Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum as her Heir-Apparent, with succession to her issue, therefore Nawab Shahjehan Begum has this day in a public Durbar of her chiefs and nobles, relatives and officers of State, in presence of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, the Political Agent in Bhopal and other gentlemen of rank, taken her seat upon the masnad of the State of Bhopal, and Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum has been appointed Heir-Apparent thereto; and by means of this proclamation all the subjects, nobles, relatives, jagirdars and officers of the State of Bhopal are informed hereof, and all people are warned

to acknowledge Nawab Shahjehan Begum as their constituted Ruler and to render her a true and hearty obedience with all readiness, loyalty and zeal.

APPENDIX IV. (Page 23.)

First and foremost I thank my God who created me daughter of Nawab Secunder Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, whose devotion and farsightedness and great capacity for administration and whose proven loyalty had won the admiration of the British Government. Then hereby I return thanks to my Sovereign, Victoria, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India, and to her wise Ministers, whose sense of justice had shown great favours to my mother the late Nawab Secunder Begum, firstly in placing her on the throne of her father Nazir-ud-Dowlah Nawab Nazar Mohammad Khan, thus making her Ruler of Bhopal; secondly for granting the Pargana of Bairasia to Her late Highness, when she proved herself thoroughly loyal to, and a great well-wisher of, the British Government, as also for conferring upon her the Exalted Order of the Crown of India, thereby increasing her dignity. Thirdly for the recognition of the merits of her administration in the active part she took in promoting the welfare of her subjects when the Viceroy complimented Her late Highness on her many accomplishments, in suitable terms, in a Durbar held at Agra, in the presence of the most renowned Chiefs of India assembled there, when His Excellency highly honoured her

before the assembled Chiefs, by calling their attention to her wise administration, as an example to be followed by them. Now after the death of my mother the Viceroy has appointed me to succeed her.

I also thank Colonel Meade, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, for acceding to my request by honouring Bhopal with his presence, for investing me as a Ruler, and acknowledging my daughter Nawab Sultanjehan Begum, as Heir-Apparent, just as Sir Richmond Shakespear had invested my mother as Ruler, and me as the Heir-Apparent. I also thank Colonel Osborne, Political Agent in Bhopal who, at considerable inconvenience to himself, showed, unremitting attention to the late Begum, during her illness, in obtaining the best medical advice for her, also for losing no time in reporting the sad occurrence to the Supreme Government, when she was no more. I thank him for continuing to me the like support, which he showed to the Nawab Secunder Begum, and for observing on my accession the same ceremonies which were observed on the occasion of my mother's throning. I feel most grateful for the exceeding kindness shown to me by my Sovereign and by her Representative, and shall feel so throughout my life. Finally, I pray to the Most Merciful God that my whole life may be spent, like my mother's, in loyalty to the British Throne, in improving the administration of Bhopal and in ameliorating the condition of my people.

APPENDIX V. (Page 26.)

"TO HER HIGHNESS NAWAB SHAHJEHAN BEGUM OF BHOPAL."

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I have received the commands of the Queen to communicate to your Highness the sincere regret with which Her Majesty learned the death of your mother, Her Highness the late Nawab Secunder Begum of Bhopal, and to offer to you her cordial condolence on this much lamented event. And I am at the same time to express to you Her Majesty's gracious assurance that she feels every confidence that your Highness will administer the country under your charge with the wisdom and benevolence which characterized the government of the illustrious Princess whom you have succeeded.

That your Highness may enjoy length of days and continued prosperity is the heartfelt desire of your Highness's

Sincere friend and
Well-wisher,

(Sd.) ARGYLL.

Dated 31*st July*, 1869.

APPENDIX VI. (Page 26.)

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AND EMPRESS OF INDIA.

My thanks are due to the Creator of the World who has caused the blessed commands of the Empress, who is the Dispenser of Justice, Friendly to Obedience and Protector of the Poor, to be communicated to me through the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India and the Officiating Political Agent in Bhopal. The accession of Your Majesty's humble servant and the acknowledgment of Sultanjehan as my Heir-Apparent, have already been proclaimed by the High Officers of the Imperial Government, acting under your Royal commands. This has now been further ratified and confirmed by the receipt of Your Gracious Majesty's Royal letter; and thereby I have been greatly honoured in the sight of my fellow Rulers. The late Nawab Secunder Begum (now in paradise), who till her latest breath remained constant and steadfast in her fidelity to Your Majesty and the British Government, has left me, your humble servant, and Sultanjehan Begum, under the shadow of Your Majesty's protection. I trust by God's help that I and my issue may equal, and even surpass, my mother in steadfast obedience and fidelity to Your Majesty and the British Government; and that

God may keep us in the way of obtaining further name and fame, by the grace of Your Majesty, and that of your appreciative Government.

Your humble servant, from the day of her accession up till now, has been occupied, as far as was possible, in reforming the administration of her State, and bringing justice to God's creatures. Perhaps Your Majesty may have seen the short reports of the administration of the State and of my former tour, which has been submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General, for favour of his perusal and information; as for the future, your humble servant assures Your Majesty that she will use her best endeavours to introduce wise measures for improving the condition of her subjects, and to continue loyal and faithful to the British Crown.

Dated Jamadiul Akhar 1286 *A.H.*
(22-9-1869.)

APPENDIX VII. (Page 26.)

Here follows the purport of a letter from Nawab Shahjehan Begum to the Secretary of State for India.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st July 1869, conveying to me the gracious commands of Her Majesty the Queen (may her reign last for ever), in which is expressed the sincere regret and sorrow of Her Gracious Majesty at the death of my revered mother, Secunder Begum. I feel greatly honoured by such gracious and royal condescension, which has signalled me out to be the recipient

of such Royal favours and has exalted me in the eyes of my compatriots. The toils, exertions, loyalty and integrity of my late mother were amply rewarded in the eyes of the whole world when regret at her death was expressed by so great a personage as Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India. Her Majesty's comforting letter has greatly encouraged us in governing our people, entrusted to our care, with the same wisdom, singleness of purpose, close attention to business and high mindedness which brought, at the hands of the British Government, such honour and renown to the late Nawab Secunder Begum, and has been the means of my being appointed her successor. All my energies are now directed to this end, with greater diligence than her's. I pray to God that myself, my Heir-Apparent, and our successors, may be granted His guidance in preserving our integrity, honesty and loyalty to the British Government, as also in inclining our hearts to deal justly with our subjects and promoting measures of reforms, the performance of which duty has caused every Ruler, each, in his own time, to receive Imperial favours, and, in our days, the approbation of the British Government.

Dated the 4th Sha'aban 1286 *A.H.*
(*the 9th November* 1869.)

APPENDIX VIII. (Page 27.)

INDIA OFFICE, LONDON,
January 27th, 1870.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

Please refer to the letter of your Excellency's Government, in this department No. 386. of the 14th December 1869, enclosing the reply which Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum of Bhopal has submitted to the address of condolence which, by Her Majesty's commands, I forwarded to Her Highness on the sixth of August last.

I desire that you will inform Her Highness that her address has been graciously received by the Queen; and that I have had much satisfaction in receiving the letter which Her Highness has sent to me, and in reading the gratifying assurance which it contains.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) ARGYLL.

Vide CHAPTER. II.

APPENDIX IX. (Page 29.)

The Moulvi Sahib's services were at first engaged for the purpose of collecting materials for a history of Bhopal by the late Nawab Secunder Begum. Later on, he served the State in different capacities. On the death of Nawab Secunder Begum he was made Mir Munshi and personal Secretary to my mother, through the influence of the Madar-ul Muham. By working constantly with the Madar-ul Muham, he had gained great experience in State affairs. Nawab Shahjehan Begum has written in the Taj-ul-Iqbal that the Moulvi was descended from the Fatimid Saiyids. His father was Syed Aulad Husain Bukhari, and he belonged to Kanauj, while the name of his grandfather was Syed Azizullah, cousin of Nawab Abdul Fateh Khan, Shams-ul-Umra, Bahadur. His family includes such great names as that of Hazarat Syed Jalal Bukhari: "Makhdoom Jahanyan Jahan Gasht." Nawab Anwar Jang was a noble and jagirdar of the Court of the Nizam of Hyderabad. He possessed estates of the annual income of five lakhs of rupees and kept a force of one thousand foot and horse. He also possessed a few villages granted by Nawab Shams-ul-Umra, Bahadur.

APPENDIX X. (Page 31.)

Before this, on the 17th September of this year, your Highness was apprised of the joyful intelligence that the British Government had consented to confer the title of "Nawab" and a Khila'at on Mohammd Siddiq Hasan, your beloved husband. To-day it is my pleasing and agreeable duty, in the presence of this joyful assembly, which has been specially convened to witness this auspicious event, to confer on your consort the Khila'at and title which have been bestowed on him by the British Government; and I hereby proclaim, before the assembled nobles and officers of the Bhopal State, that the title of "Nawab Walajah Amir-Ul-Mulk," and a Khila'at suited to his exalted rank, have been conferred on him by the British Government, and the illustrious Government has sanctioned all the marks of distinction appertaining to this rank. It is proper and expedient that the members of the ruling family, the nobles and officials of State, should cordially observe towards him such marks of respect and honour as the former Nawabs of Bhopal enjoyed; and that the Nawab, in gratitude for this splendid boon bestowed on him by the British Government, should endeavour to increase the good reputation of the Ruler and to advance the interests and prosperity of the people, with all good will and to the full extent of his ability.

It is well known to your Highness, and to the Nawab Sahib as well, that the State is already a pattern of good management to other States; and it is now

hoped that by the help of the Nawab Sahib the State will continue on the path of progress, so well begun. I now conclude my speech with this prayer that the Khila'at and title may prove a blessing and happiness to Nawab Syed Siddiq Hasan and to your Highness, as well as to all the nobles of this State; and that the attainment of this lofty rank by the Nawab may continue to be a matter of congratulation to your Highness and give happiness to all your family and to the officers of this State."

Dated 15*th October*, 1872.

CHAPTER III.

APPENDIX XI. (Page 58.)

Articles of agreement between the Government of India and Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, G.C.S.I., C.I., for the construction of a Railway within the State of Bhopal, 1880.

(ARTICLE I.)

Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, agrees to give the sum of thirty-five lakhs of Rupees, and Her Highness Qudsia Begum agrees to give the sum of fifteen lakhs of Rupees towards the construction of a Railway between the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Nurbudda terminus and the city of Bhopal, and to the cantonment of Sehore, the whole amount to be paid in four annual instalments, commencing from the month of January 1880. Should any portion of the sum payable by Her Highness Qudsia

Begum remain unpaid at her death the State of Bhopal engages to pay the balance.

(ARTICLE 2.)

The profits on the sum of thirty-five lakhs paid by *the State of Bhopal shall be enjoyed by her during* her lifetime and thereafter by the *Ruler* of Bhopal in perpetuity.

(ARTICLE 3.)

Profits accruing on this Railway and its extension to Agra, should that be carried out, shall be divided in proportion to the amount respectively subscribed by the several States contributing to the construction of the through line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Agra.

(ARTICLE 4.)

The construction and management of the line, and the entire jurisdiction within Railway limits, shall rest with the Government of India, and the State ot Bhopal shall have no right of interference therein.

(ARTICLE 5.)

The State of Bhopal shall give land within its territory for all Railway purposes, including all land required for stone quarries for the excavation of ballast, for permanent and temporary roads in connection with the construction, maintenance and working of the line for stations, etc., free of charge and rent, and shall afford all reasonable assistance in procuring labour and material, for the construction of the Railway. The land taken up for temporary purposes will be restored to the State as soon as the necessity for it ceases.

(ARTICLE 6.)

The State of Bhopal shall levy no duty upon any articles which may be required for the construction and maintenance of the line or for other Railway purposes, neither shall it levy duties on any articles conveyed by the Railway while they are in transit on the line.

(ARTICLE 7.)

A first, second, and third class carriage shall be appropriated for the personal use of the Ruler of Bhopal to travel within the limits of the Bhopal State, free of charge.

Dated at Bhopal this thirtieth day of August 1880, corresponding with the twenty-third of Ramzan A.H. 1297.

(Sd.) SHAHJEHAN BEGUM,
(in Persian.)

Seal of Nawab Shahjehan Begum.

(Sd.) W. F. PRIDEAUX,
Political Agent,
Bhopal.

This Agreement was approved and confirmed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, at Simla, on the 16th September 1880.

(By order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.)

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,
SIMLA,
The 17th September, 1880.

(Sd.) A. C. LYALL,
Secretary to the Government of India, in the Foreign Department.

APPENDIX XII. (Page 58.)

Supplementary Agreement between the Government of India and Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, C.I., G.C.S.I., relative to the construction of a Railway in the State, 1887.

Whereas on the 16th day of September 1880 an agreement was made between the Government of India and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal which provided amongst other things, for the construction of a railway by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway up to the city of Bhopal, and whereas owing to the death of the late lamented Qudsia Begum, and to the course of subsequent events, the circumstances contemplated by that agreement have been to some extent changed; and whereas it is desirable to bring the terms of that agreement into conformity with the altered condition of affairs, now therefore the Government of India and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal do hereby make and enter into a supplementary agreement as follows:

(i) Article II in the Agreement of the 16th September 1880 is cancelled.

(ii) For Article III and IV of the aforesaid agreement, the following words and figures are substituted, namely;—

(ARTICLE 3.)

"The profits accruing on the aforesaid railway shall be divided in perpetuity between the British Government and the Ruler of Bhopal according to the

mileage constructed at the cost of either party, that is to say, in proportion of 13 and 44.

(ARTICLE 4.)

The construction and management of the aforesaid railway (including full authority to enter into arrangement from time to time for its working hereafter) and entire jurisdiction within railway limits, shall rest with the Government of India and the State of Bhopal shall have no right of interference therein."

(Sd.) SHAH JAHAN BEGUM.

Seal.

(Sd.) P. W. BANNERMAN,

Agent to the Governor-General, for Central India.

Approved and confirmed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.

(Sd.) H. M. DURAND,

Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT,
SIMLA,
The 30th June, 1887.

APPENDIX XIII. (Page 58.)

Final Agreement between the Government of India and Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, G.C.S.I., C.I., relative to the construction of a railway in Bhopal State, 1890.

Whereas on the 30th day of June 1887 a supplementary Agreement was made between the Government of India and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal,

which provided amongst other things, that the profits accruing on the aforesaid Railway should be divided in perpetuity between the British Government and the Ruler of Bhopal according to the mileage constructed at the cost of either party, and whereas it is deemed desirable that the division of profits shall be in proportion of capital found by each party, at the close of the period for which the accounts are made up ; now therefore the Government of India and Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal do hereby make and enter into final Agreement as follows:—

(1) For Article 3 of the Supplementary Agreement of the 30th June 1887 the following words are substituted:—

(ARTICLE 3.)

"The profits accruing on the foresaid Railway shall be divided in perpetuity between the British Government and the Ruler of Bhopal in proportion to the capital contributed by each party for which the accounts are made up. In the event of the Railway being worked at a loss during any half year or other period for which the accounts may be made up, such loss shall be borne by the British Government and the Ruler of Bhopal in the same proportions."

This Agreement shall take effect from the 1st January 1891.

Seal. (Sd.) SHAHJEHAN BEGUM,

(Sd.) A. MARTINDALE,

The 4th October, 1890. *Offg. Political Agent in Bhopal.*

Approved and confirmed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT, CAMP, AGRA, *The* 22*nd Dec.* 1890.	(Sd.) W. J. CUNINGHAM, *Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.*

APPENDIX XIV. (Page 77.)

SIMLA, *May* 15, 1894.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

Some years have passed since the proposal to utilize a portion of the armies of Native States, for the purposes of defence, first came before the Government of India. The part you have taken in furthering the proposal is an additional manifestation of the loyalty and devotion to the British Government for which your State has so long been famous. It is, I know, your desire that the regiment of cavalry maintained by you should be thoroughly efficient, and ready at any time, when their services, may be required, to take the field with the regular forces of the Empire. The Government of India is deeply concerned in all matters affecting friendly States and their Rulers; and the reports submitted by the Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops have been perused with attention and pleasure. I am desired by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, for India, to inform you that the vigorous efforts made by the Chiefs of India for the success of this movement have afforded him much gratification. The

Government is fully confident that the regiment that you are raising in Bhopal will be completed in the admirable fashion in which its formation has been commenced. It will, I am sure, give you great pleasure to hear that the co-operation of Native States, in the work of forming an Imperial Service Force, has been sincerely appreciated by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and I am desired to convey to you Her Majesty's gratitude.

APPENDIX XV. (Page 84.)

THE TAJ-UL-MASAJID.

Measurements of the Taj-ul-masajid.

The covered portion of the mosque is 250 feet long and 58½ broad. The roof is supported by 12 large pillars. The diameter of the minaret is 27½ feet and height 170 feet. The open enclosure inside the mosque is 325 by 325 feet and the height of the main front arches is 74 feet. The mosque is divided into two parts, one for males and the other for females, and both are most artistically sculptured. Bhopal and Agra stones have been used throughout, except in the arches of the gallery, which are made of marble. The pillars and the ballustrades have excellent carving on them while the many inscriptions on the arches and walls are inlaid with black marble on a white background. Stone masons from Agra, Muttra, Jeypore and other places, besides those of Bhopal, were employed in the construction of this mosque. It is a pity that Her Highness did not live to see her mosque built to

her design. Much still remains to be done. During her lifetime Her Highness spent nearly 15 or 16 lakhs of rupees on the mosque. The building operations have been continued after her demise, and it is hoped that God Almighty will help us to see this sacred edifice completed at no distant date.

CHAPTER IV.

APPENDIX XVI. (Page 107.)

The following is a copy of the order issued by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in the matter of Munshi Siddiq Hassan formerly known as Nawab, and approved by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, for India :—

ORDER.

" His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General has directed that Nawab Siddiq Hasan be deprived of his titles and salute, and that he shall in future abstain from all interference, direct or indirect, in the affairs of the State ; and that, in the event of his disregarding this order, a punishment of a much heavier kind shall be dealt out to him. Seeing that by his usurpation of authority, and by the oppression that has characterized his acts, the condition of the State and its administration is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. His Excellency directs the appointment of a duly qualified Madar-ul-Maham, who is to be given full administrative powers."

CHAPTER V.

APPENDIX XVII. (Page 116.)

CLARENCE HOUSE, LONDON.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,

I have received your Highness's most welcome letter, together with the interesting specimens of art and manufacture of your country. which you have been good enough to send to me, and which I shall ever value as memorials of the kind feelings towards Her Majesty and myself which you have so graciously expressed. The articles worked by the hands of your Highness and of your daughter Nawab Sultanjehan Begum, will be treasured by me with special regard. Your Highness is pleased to refer to the regret with which you look back to the unfortunate circumstances which prevented my visit to Bhopal. It was, I assure you, a source of great disappointment to me that I was unable to visit your Highness's dominions, the admirable administration of which both under your mother, the late Nawab Secunder Begum, of happy memory, and of your self, I had heard so much, and the fame of which has extended to all parts of Her Majesty's Empire. I have the pleasure to send, for your Highness's acceptance, some specimens of the art and manufacture of Europe. Though of trifling value in themselves, these may serve to assure you of the sincerety with which I sign myself

Your Highness's faithful friend and Wellwisher

(Sd.) ALFRED.

To H. H. Nawab Shahjehan Begum of Bhopal.

APPENDIX XVIII. (Page 117.)

Extract from the Kharita of Col. Edward Thomson, Political Agent in Bhopal, dated 4th October 1869.

A report of the good management and excellent administration of your State, and also of the zeal and energy shown in your tours, in braving the extreme heat of the summer and noxious hot winds, to improve your administration and to promote the comfort of your subjects, was forwarded by me, together with a translation of the narrative of your tour, in the South, through the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India to the Supreme Government. In reply to this, a letter has been received from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated September 21st, addressed to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, to the effect that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India has perused with great satisfaction and interest, the report in which has been described the wise zeal and energy of your Highness in extirpating the corruption of ill-disposed Collectors, and carrying out new and beneficial reforms. *The details show conclusively that your Highness is determined to emulate your mother to govern your State in a liberal and enlightened spirit*, to discountenance fraud and oppression, and to adopt measures which shall aim at the welfare and prosperity of all classes of your subjects. *The course taken by your Highness in this view, would, in the opinion*

of His Excellency in Council, reflect credit on the administration of old and experienced Rulers of States, His Excellency in Council will have much pleasure in giving publicity to your Highness' memorandum and in transmitting copies thereof, at an early date, for the perusal of the Secretary of State for India.

It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I send you a copy and translation of the above letter, which is *the strongest proof of your appreciation by the Government of India,* and the best evidence of your good name and ability, and I beg to add that the approbation of His Excellency the Governor-General of India, and the widespread reputation of your Highness for good administrative ability is a direct reward of those strenuous labours undergone by your Highness, for the welfare of your State. I feel assured that the praises and commendation of the British Government, for your enlightened measures, will afford a pleasing incitement to you, to continue in the same path of progress and loyalty to the British Government; and that Almighty God will increase your virtue and wisdom, already known throughout the world.

APPENDIX XIX. (Page 117.)

"In a letter dated the 8th February, 1870, Colonel Ousely informed Her Highness that His Grace the Duke of Argyll, the then Secretary of State for India, had written to the Viceroy to the effect that:—

"It is gratifying to learn that Her Highness Shah-

jehan Begum has already given proof of her desire to conduct the affairs of her State in the liberal and enlightened spirit which distinguished the late Nawab Secunder Begum, during a long course of years, with such signal benefit to all classes of her subjects, and *you are requested to convey to Her Highness Shahjehan Begum the delight of Her Majesty at the salutary reforms the Begum has effected in her State.*"

APPENDIX XX. (Page 117.)

An *Official note by Colonel John William Welby Osborne, C.B., Political Agent in Bhopal,* which the Colonel wrote after seeing and observing things with his own eyes. (This note throws a good light on Her Highness's versatility and great ability in reforming the various Departments of the State). "It gave your sincere friend great pleasure to visit Bhopal and to witness new building operations started by you since his last visit. The Shahjahani tank built by your Highness is deserving of great praise. It is of great convenience to those who live in its vicinity and to the travellers who come and halt by it. Your friend has also been much pleased and gratified to see that you have built new roads and bridges within your territories, that the building of roads is still going on, and that you have strengthened the fort of Fatehgarh by repairing it. These bring a good name to your State. The happiness derived by your friend on visiting the institutions known as Victoria and Albert schools cannot be put into adequate words. In

this you have truly shown your originality; and I hope these Institutions will progress with the march of time, especially as weaving and embroidery have never been taught in Bhopal before. It is hoped that in a few years Bhopal will become famous for its carpets, and excellent specimens of artistic embroidery. The industries which you have introduced will prove of great benefit to the State and its people. The carpets made are very good and, with through diligence and a few months training, the pupils will be able to compete with Jubbulpore on equal terms. The embroideries perpared by the pupils of the Victoria school also deserve praise. Many of the specimens are as good as those prepared by Delhi artists. "The Prince of Wales" School, established by you, will bring great honour to your name, make your generosity renowned, and will prove of the utmost benefit to your subjects, while such deeds will win for your Highness the admiration and esteem of the British Government; and your friend will be highly gratified to bring your reforms to the gracious notice of the Queen Empress.

Dated the 15*th April* 1871.

APPENDIX XXI. (Page 117.)

The Hon. Colonel Bailey, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, informed Her Highness through a letter, dated the 27th July 1874, that the Secretary of State for India has written that Her Highness's *efforts at improving the administrationof her State*

have won the admiration of Her Majesty the Queen, and that Her Highness has the Right Hon'ble gentleman's hearty congratulations.

CHAPTER VII.

APPENDIX XXII. (Page 139.)

His Excellency Lord Lytton's "Kharita" to Her Highness the Ruler of Bhopal.

It gives me great pleasure to find the opportunity of conveying to your Highness the happy news that Her Imperial Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India, out of royal graciousness, and extreme kindness, has decided to institute a new Order called the "Order of the Crown of India," in memory of the assumption of the Imperial title of "Empress of India," which Her Majesty has newly added to her royal and hereditary titles. This new order will be bestowed on Princesses of the Blood Royal, Begums and other female relatives of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India, and such other exalted ladies as, in the opinion of Her Majesty, are worthy of the same. The Empress has been graciously pleased, out of her affection for you, and royal favour, to confer upon your Highness this exalted decoration. God save the Queen.

APPENDIX XXIII. (Page 158.)

Report of the Chief Commanding Officer, Bhopal Army.

At seven o'clock this morning His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, attended by the Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops, and some other military officers arrived at the parade ground on horse back. The other guests, both ladies and gentlemen, sat in carriages. On His Excellency's arrival a salute of 17 guns was fired and the whole Force presented arms. Thereafter, His Excellency advanced a few paces towards the regiments and I presented to him the paper containing full particulars about the number of men and regiments present on the parade ground. He tore open the envelope, and read the information contained in it; and replacing the paper in the envelope, handed it over to his A.D.C., with instructions that the note was to be given back to him at the Lal Kothi. His Excellency was then pleased to inquire where I originally came from, and about the duration of my service, to which I gave suitable answers. He then enquired from where we obtained horses for the cavalry, and I replied that they were bought at the different fairs held in the State. My answer to the question as to why Walers were not used for the artillery was that we obtained country bred horses of much better quality than the horses of the regiment. His Excellency then inspected the Guard of Honour, and took his stand near the flag staff and ordered me to start the march past. I obeyed his command and went through the whole programme of the parade and

the different manoeuvres. When the parade was over, and the Force had presented arms, His Excellency once more advanced towards the Regiment. I called out my Officers and presented them one by one to His Excellency. He enquired after the names and periods of service of each officer. Mohammed Faridullah Khan Saheb the Bakshi; Captain Paindah Khan, Adjutant; Saiyad Rasool, Risaldar Major Mian Mohammad Ismail and the other officers gave suitable answers to His Excellency's several enquiries. The Commander-in-Chief very highly praised the work of the regiment. I replied that it was very kind and good of His Excellency to say so. His Excellency further remarked that he had inspected many Indian regiments, but the parade in Bhopal was carried out in real good military style. The Inspector-General of Imperial Service Troops told me that while I was conducting the parade His Excellency kept praising the smartness of our men, and was agreeably surprised at their quick movements. His Excellency then ordered me to dismiss the regiment, and once more expressing his pleasure at having witnessed the parade, drove back to the Lal Kothi. Through your Highness' good fortune every thing has passed off quite well.

Dated the 25th Jamadi-us-sani 1306 *A.H.*

CHAPTER VIII.

APPENDIX XXIV. (Page 206.)

I return a thousand thanks to the Creator of Heaven and Earth, who entrusted the sovereignty of Hindustan to the Empress who is merciful and attentive to, and thoughtful about, the interests of India. This Sovereign is the Queen of Great Britain. Thanks be to God for entrusting the Empire of Hindustan to a Ruler of such high qualities of head and heart. Thanks be to God who has made the people of Hindustan obedient to a Monarch so just and powerful, that all the Chiefs of Hindustan are enabled, merely by the ample protection and prestige of her reign to rule in their own Capitals, without fear or dread of foreign enemies or invaders. Here is an apt illustration of this. Let all persons give ear to it. When the high officers and Administrators of this Empire had satisfied themselves about my kind mother's sincere loyalty they preserved her territories from the hostile attempts of foes and invaders by despatching several times European troops to my mother's aid; secondly as a reward for her loyalty they granted the Pargana of Bairasia to the Bhopal State to be held in perpetuity; thirdly her late Highness was created a G.C.S.I. in an open Durbar of Ruling Chiefs and Princes; fourthly, after her death, Her Majesty the Queen, Empress of India, caused her Secretary of State for India to write to me a letter of condolence; by which special act of condescension I was greatly honoured amongst my ruling peers; and fifthly, she has issued her commands to her

Governor-General who has accordingly done me the honour of conferring on me the G.C.S.I. in a public Durbar. A long life would not adequately suffice to show the gratitude I owe to Her Majesty for her protection as well as for all the favours shown towards me. Therefore we should all, great and small, firmly and steadfastly support the Empire of such a Ruler in Hindustan, render her ready obedience, and consider the stability of her Rule as the stability of our own power and that of our descendants. Let all the European gentlemen and others here assembled reflect how true is the illustration I have given.

It is my hope that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General will lay this, my address, before Her Gracious Majesty the Queen, in order that she may be aware of my gratitude for those favours which have been shown by her Government to my late beloved mother and to myself.

CHAPTER IX.

APPENDIX XXV. (Page 236.)

The exalted *firman* of His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, may his glory endure for ever; to the illustrious and glorious Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, may she ever prosper; written by the humble Mahommad Hussein and translated by Mahommad Nedjib Effendi, Turkish scholar and Reader at the Imperial Printing Press:

Whereas from amongst the Princes of India, Her Highness Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of the

territory of Bhopal, a queen among women and the Crown of the Virtuous, may God protect and guard her virtues, has, out of humanitarian sentiments, and feelings of pity and charity, natural to and inherent in her, given material proof of her sympathy in the sufferings of the refugees; and whereas the recognition of such noble feelings has ever been the glorious characteristic and tradition of this illustrious Empire, with a view therefore, to show our appreciation of, and regard for, the illustrious lady aforesaid We, by these presents, confer upon her, as a symbol of Our royal favour and amity the Exalted Order and Decoration of the Nishani Shafqat, the first class of the Order of the Medjidieh, in brilliants.

Written on this, the 20th of the month of Rabi-ul-Auwal of the year of the Hijrat one thousand two hundred and ninety-six.

A special firman, of our Lord and Master, the Mighty Sultan of the Ottoman Empire; (may the Ever-living and Constant God grant him long life) addressed to Her Highness the Nawab Shahjehan Begum, Ruler of Bhopal, may good fortune ever attend her, is given below:—

To the Guardian of Wealth and Riches, Queen of Virtue and Chastity, and Commander of the esteem and confidence of her people, the Ruler of Bhopal. During the course of war in which our Empire was engaged, your Highness had, out of regard for the preservation of the Unity of Islam, and actuated by noble feelings of sym-

pathy and generosity, sent to the seat of the Khilafat help, on behalf of your own virtuous and noble self, and of the members of your exalted house, as well as on behalf of the nobles and dignitaries of your State, which caused great happiness to our royal heart. In these days of troubles, people possessed of kind and benevolent instincts, found an opportunity of forwarding to our realms, help and assistance in one form or another. As a sign of appreciation therefore of the financial assistance rendered by your Highness, and as a mark of our Imperial favour and affection, a Star of the Order of the Nishan-i-Shafaqat is hereby presented to your Highness, which please do us the honour to accept. Frequent manifestations of sympathy and regard are the outcome and fruit of an exalted spirit of generosity common among friends.

By the grace of God,

ABDUL HAMID KHAN,

Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

Dated the 16*th Rabi-ul-Auwal,*

1296 *A. H.*

THE END.

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